

RENÉ PRUVOST

LECTURER IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ALGIERS

MATTEO BANDELLO

AND ELIZABETHAN FICTION

*A complementary Thesis
submitted to the University of Paris
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the obtention
of the Degree of « Docteur ès Lettres ».*



PARIS
LIBRAIRIE ANCIENNE HONORÉ CHAMPION
5, QUAI MALAQUAIS, VI^e
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FOREWORD

Paradoxical though the thing may seem at first sight, a study of "Bandello and Elizabethan fiction" is that of a French rather than of an Italian influence.

In the great majority of cases the English translators and adapters of Bandello did not go straight to the text of his novels, but worked from the French versions of them written by Boaistuau and by Belleforest. And they were considerably more faithful to their models than their French forerunners had been to theirs. Deep and far-reaching were indeed, as the late René Sturel has shown, the changes introduced by the two Frenchmen in the stories which they extracted from the Italian *novelliere*. His English translators and adapters in their turn exerted an individual choice in the matter of selecting novels to be turned into English. Sometimes altering it, sometimes adding to it, and sometimes retrenching from it, they also deviated occasionally from the text which they were translating. But whenever they did so they are usually found simply to have gone some distance further away from Bandello along the road travelled by his so-called French translators. Even when, as he is practically alone in doing, William Painter translates straight from the Italian, his practice with the text of Bandello is at one with that which he adopts when translating from the French of Boaistuau or of Belleforest. His method, preoccupations and leanings are in both cases very much the same. Whether adapted from an Italian original or from a French version, the English novels derived from Bandello wear essentially the same complexion as those that had previously been done into French.

In an attempt at assessing what share they had had in modelling its features, the question whether these novels had lent any themes to Elizabethan fiction could not of course be ignored. Nor have we sought to ignore it. But their influence in this respect does

not seem to us to have been very great. Whereas as regards technique we believe it to have been for a time both potent and far-reaching.

With the signal exception of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, most of the sentimental works of fiction published in the twenty years or so that elapsed after the appearance of John Lyly's *Euphues* are consistently modelled after the same pattern. Both in the novels of Lyly and in those of his followers, chief among whom is Robert Greene, the affairs of the lovers almost invariably proceed to their conclusion through a practically identical run of highly rhetorical soliloquies, speeches and letters, sometimes made more pointed by the deeply moved lover's breaking forth into verse, and nearly always accompanied by the moralizing comments of the writer upon the sayings and doings of his characters. The adoption of this technique by so many writers we ascribe to the influence of the English novels derived from Bandello. For the work of his French adapters and of their English followers differed from his, most of all, through the working into the pattern of his stories of precisely these rhetorical purple patches, lyrical effusions and moralizing commentaries.

A somewhat similar technique is already to be found in English, to be sure, at a time when no novel of Bandello had yet been or could yet have been translated, in the anonymous rendering of Aeneas Sylvius's *Historia de duobus amantibus* (1550?), in John Bouchier's English version of Diego de San Pedro's *Carcel de Amor* (1540?), and even in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. But it makes its first full-fledged appearance in the novels derived from Bandello by Painter and by Fenton. It was not till after their publication that it came to be generally adopted in England. And that these translations stand apart in this respect is clearly indicated by the fact that in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* the stories derived from Bandello have an air of kinship with the novels of Lyly and of his followers, precisely due to their being built after the same general pattern, which one misses in those that were culled from other sources.

In the significance that we assign to it, the influence thus exerted by the English novels "out of Bandello" harmonizes with the views put forward by the most recent students of Elizabethan fiction. Professor Raleigh wrote some thirty years ago that "the history of prose fiction in the time of Elizabeth is that of the triumph

of the Italian novel over its natural rival the romance" ¹. But Professor S. L. Wolff and Lord Ernle between them have brought about a modification of this view by showing that in point of spirit and atmosphere the Elizabethan novels and romances have much more in common with the Greek novels and the Spanish romances than with the Italian *novelle* ². We have for our part been led to the conclusion that, under cover of the name of Bandello, it was not genuine Italian *novelle* that had been influential in England, but rather stories in which, if the subjects were borrowed from Bandello, the atmosphere, tone and technique, that is the features that we think were duplicated in many a later Elizabethan novel, are the outcome of the vogue enjoyed in France by the Amadis romances.

It goes without saying that in our search of materials in support of our contention we have drawn our drag-net over as wide an expanse as possible, and endeavoured not to let anything escape between its meshes that might be adduced in proof or disproof.

The first requisite was to assess as accurately as possible what knowledge the Elizabethans had had of the novels of Bandello. This had been very largely done already by Koeppl and by Miss M. A. Scott, and if the present study has been able to correct a few of their statements and to add a few ears to their harvest, it is only fair to acknowledge how deeply it stands in their debt.

So wide are the differences between Bandello in Italian and Bandello in English, however, that the mere drawing-up of a list of translations, adaptations and allusions would have remained unilluminating and might have proved misleading. Hence it was thought necessary to provide fairly full summaries of the novels in their English form.

The way was thus prepared for our attempt at determining the spirit which the English translators and adapters had brought to their work. Most significant in this respect are their departures from their immediate models. But as, even there, they do little more than go a few stages further along the road already taken by Boaisiuau and by Belleforest, this part of our work has been greatly facilitated and lightened by Sturel's careful comparison

1. *The English Novel*, p. 26.

2. Wolff : *The Greek romances in Elizabethan prose fiction* ; Lord Ernle : *Tudor novels and romances and The light reading of our ancestors*.

of the French versions of Bandello with the Italian originals. It is not too much to say that, to an even greater degree than that of Koeppl and of Miss Scott, his work has provided the indispensable foundation-stone upon which to erect the present structure.

When the time came for fighting our way to the conclusion to be drawn from these preliminary enquiries, no similar help was forthcoming. We are nevertheless greatly indebted to Canby and to Bush for having pointed out in a general way the similarity in texture and atmosphere between Painter's and Fenton's translations of novels originally derived from Bandello on the one hand, and the later love-pamphlets on the other¹. While leaving the way clear for a more searching inquiry, their suggestions were at least definite enough to spur our energies on with the assurance that this inquiry would not prove a mere wild-goose-chase. And in the initial stages of our work this supplied us with an impetus without which it might perhaps not have been persevered in.

From end to end of our study we have brought forward many and lengthy, perhaps too many and too lengthy, quotations. We have been moved to do so not only by the fact that, even when they have been reprinted in modern times, the works from which they were extracted are as a rule not very easily accessible, but also and indeed mainly from a wish to let the facts speak for themselves, and make it possible for our prospective readers to form their own independent opinion.

While in these quotations we have done our best to respect the vagaries of sixteenth century spelling, we have conformed to modern practice in the use of i and j and of u and v. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are taken from the originals. Those from Boaistuau and from Belleforest have been extracted from the first editions of the first two volumes of the *Histoires Tragiques*, in the possession of the British Museum Library. In order to make the references quite clear, it should perhaps be added that «Histoires» I to 6 are to be found in Boaistuau's *Histoires Tragiques*, 1559, «Histoires» 7 to 18 in Belleforest's *Continuation* of the same year, and «Histoires» 19 to 36 in his second volume, 1565.

Many are the obligations that we have incurred while preparing

1. Canby in *The short story in English* and in *A study of the short story*, Bush in *The Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* and, since the inception of our work, in *Mythology and the Renaissance tradition in English poetry*.

the following pages for publication. For the loan of books, and for help given towards the gathering of information, we perform a pleasant duty in expressing our thanks to Madame Vve Sturel, the late André Brulé, Mr. Marcel Bataillon, Mr. Albert Ricklin and the staffs of the various libraries to which we have been taken by our researches, and chief among which are the British Museum Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bodleian Library, the Library of the Sorbonne and that of the University of Cambridge. In the first named of these, especially, Mr. Arthur I. Ellis has invariably met the manyfold inquiries that we have pestered him with both by word of mouth and through the post with a courteousness and patience which it is a pleasure to remember and acknowledge. Mr. F. M. Atkinson has rendered us a priceless service by going over our manuscript and offering valuable criticism and suggestions. Professor Baldensperger has done us the kindness to comment favourably upon our work after its completion and accept it for inclusion in the « Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée ». To no one do we owe so much gratitude, however, as to Professor Émile Legouis. Through his teaching, inspiring example, unflagging interest in our researches, kindly, generous and persistent encouragement over many years, he has laid us in his debt far more deeply than mere words can record.

Algiers, June 1936

René PRUVOST.

CHAPTER I

BANDELLO IN ENGLISH : MAINLY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

I — The first translations and allusions.

- Arthur Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* (Bandello, II, 9, through Boaistuau, 3).
 — Thomas Peend's *Lorde Mandozze* (Bandello, II, 44, through Boaistuau, 6). — Allusions by Peend to *Romeo and Juliet* and to *Alerane and Adelasia*. 13

II -- The first volume of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*.

- I, 27, *Seleucus and Antiochus* (Bandello, II, 55). — I, 40, *Hyerenee the faire Greeke* (Bandello, I, 10, through Boaistuau, 2). — I, 41, *A Ladie falslie accused* (Bandello, I, 24, through Belleforest, 8). — I, 42, *Didaco and Violenta* (Bandello, I, 42, through Boaistuau, 5). — I, 43, *A Ladie of Thurin* (Bandello, II, 12, through Boaistuau, 4). — I, 44, *Alerane and Adelasia* (Bandello, II, 27, through Belleforest, 7). — I, 45, *The Duchesse of Savoy* (Bandello, II, 44, through Boaistuau, 6). — I, 46, *The Countesse of Salisburie* (Bandello, II, 37, through Boaistuau, 1) 21

III — The second volume of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*.

- II, 4, *Ariobarzanes* (Bandello, I, 2). — II, 5, *Aristotimus the Tyrant* (Bandello, III, 5). — II, 7, *Massinissa and Sophonisba* (Bandello, I, 41). — II, 9, *A Gentlewoman of Hidrusa* (Bandello, I, 56). — II, 10, *Faustina the Empresse* (Bandello, I, 36). — II, 21, *Anne the Queene of Hungarie* (Bandello, I, 45). — II, 22, *Alexander de Medices* (Bandello, II, 15, through Belleforest, 12). — II, 23, *The Duchesse of Malfi* (Bandello, I, 26, through Belleforest, 19). — II, 24, *The Countesse of Celant* (Bandello, I, 4, through Belleforest, 20). — II, 25, *Rhomeo and Julietta* (Bandello, II, 9, through Boaistuau, 3). — II, 26, *Two Gentlewomen of Venice* (Bandello, I, 15). — II, 27, *The Lord of Virle* (Bandello, III, 17, through Belleforest, 13). — II, 28, *A Lady of Roeme* (Bandello, I, 21). — II, 29, *Dom Diego and Ginevra* (Bandello, I, 27, through Belleforest, 18). — II, 30, *Salimbene and Angelica* (Bandello, I, 49, through Belleforest, 21). — II, 33, *The Lords of Nocera* (Bandello, I, 55, through Belleforest, 23). — II, 35, *The Kinge of Marocco* (Bandello, I, 57, through Belleforest, 24). 34

IV — Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses*.

- I, *Salimbene and Angelica* (cf. Painter, II, 30). — II, *Lyvyo and Camilla* (Bandello, I, 33, through Belleforest, 22). — III, *A Yong Lady in Mylan* (Bandello, III, 52, through Belleforest, 9). — IV, *An Albanoyse Captaine* (Bandello, I, 51, through Belleforest, 10). — V, *Cornelio and Plaudyna* (Bandello, I, 28, through Belleforest, 26). — VI, *The Villennie of an Abbot* (Bandello, II, 7, through Belleforest, 28). — VII, *The Countesse of Celant* (cf. Painter, II, 24). — VIII, *Iulya of Gazuolo* (Bandello, I, 8, through Belleforest, 25). — IX, *The Lady of Chabrye* (Bandello, II, 33, through

Belleforest, 16). — X, *Luchyn and Janiquetta* (Bandello, II, 26, through Belleforest, 34). — XI, *The Lord of Virle* (cf. Painter, II, 27). — XII, *Perillo and Carmosyna* (Bandello, I, 14, through Belleforest, 27). — XIII, *Dom Diego and Ginevra* (cf. Painter, II, 29). 53

V — From 1568 to 1576.

Anonymous, *A noble Lorde and his lady with thayre tregicall ende* (Bandello, III, 21, through Belleforest, 31?). — John Goubourne, *The Lord of Virle* (cf. Painter, II, 27, and Fenton, 11). — Allusion to *Romeo and Juliet* in *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres*. — Barnabe Rich's *Dialogue betwene Mercury and an English Souldier: The Lady of Chabrye* (cf. Fenton, 9), and allusions to *Romeo and Juliet* and to *Livio and Camilla*. — George Whetstone's *Roche of Regard: The Countess of Celant* (cf. Painter, II, 24, and Fenton, 7), *Dom Diego and Ginevra* (cf. Painter, II, 29, and Fenton, 13), *Lady Barbara* (cf. Painter, II, 28), and an allusion to *Faustina*. — Thomas Achelley, *Violenta and Didaco* (cf. Painter, I, 42). 66

VI — *The Straunge, Lamentable and Tragicall Hystories* of R. Smythe.

Allusions to *The Lord of Virle*, *The Countess of Salisbury*, *The Duchess of Savoy*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Alerane and Adelasia*, *Faustina*, and *The Countess of Celant* in George Pettie's *Petite Pallace of Pleasure*. — George Turbervile's tales of *Posamond* (nº 5) and of *Aristotimus* (nº 8) do not proceed from Bandello. — Smythe's Tale nº 1, *John Maria Duke of Myllayne* (Bandello, III, 25, through Belleforest, 29). — Nº 2, *A Gentleman Myllinois* (Bandello, III, 33, through Belleforest, 17). — Nº 3, *A Mahometan slave* (Bandello, I, 52, through Belleforest, 15). — Nº 4, *The Marques of Ferrara* (Bandello, I, 44, through Belleforest, 11). 75

VII — The last translations, adaptations and allusions.

Warton's mistaken mention of a prose English version of the *Novelle* of Bandello, by W.W. — Allusions to *Romeo and Juliet* in John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis and Garden*; to *Romeo and Juliet* and to *Dom Diego and Ginevra* in Thomas Procter's *A gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inventions*; to *The Duchess of Malfi* and to *Alerane and Adelasia* in H.C.'s *The Forrest of Fancy*; to *Romeo and Juliet* in Austen Saker's *Narbonus*; to *Seleucus* in Anthony Munday's *Zelauto*. — Barnabe Rich's *Farewell to Militarie profession: Apolonius and Silla and Phylotus and Emilia* (Bandello, II, 36, through Belleforest, 61?). — Barnabe Rich's *Don Simonides: Lamia* (Bandello, IV, 17), and an allusion to *Dom Diego and Ginevra*. — George Whetstone's *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*: allusions to *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Duchess of Malfi*, and *The Countess of Celant*. — Allusions to *Romeo and Juliet* in Richard Stanyhurst's *Aeneis*, Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus*, and Clement Robinson's *A Handefull of pleasant delites*; to *The Duchess of Savoy* in the same miscellany, and in Robert Greene's *Mamillia*; to *The Duchess of Malfi* in Greene's *Gwydonius*. — Whetstone's mention of *Mundus and Paulina* does not proceed from Bandello, III, 19. — Nor does Thomas Lodge's *Revenge of Megollo* proceed from Bandello, II, 14. — Allusions to the tales of Bandello, and to *Aristotimus*, in Lodge's *Wits Miserie*. — Richard Lynche's *Diella* and *Dom Diego and Ginevra* (cf. Painter, II, 29, and Fenton, 13). — Thomas Beard's *The Theatre of Gods Judgements* and *The Duchess of Malfi* (cf. Painter, II, 23). — *Westward for Smelts* and *The Lord of Virle* (cf. Painter, II, 27, and Fenton, 11). — *Hyerenee the faire Greeke* (Painter, I, 40), reprinted as one of *The Queene of Navarres Tales*. 83

Were it not that Bandello's influence upon the English drama is outside its scope, the present study would have to begin upon a note of interrogation. For while there is a possibility that the Italian *novelliere* was first given an English dress in a dramatized version of the story of Romeo and Juliet, this is no more than a possibility. It arises from what Arthur Brooke wrote in 1562 in the Epistle to the Reader prefixed to his *Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet*, the first English non-dramatic version of one of Bandello's *novelle*: "I saw the same argument lately set forth on stage with more commendation, then I can looke for". The only safe conclusion to be drawn from this, however, is that the moving story of the Veronese lovers had been shown upon an English stage at some date earlier than 1562¹. Whether the unknown English dramatist drew his inspiration from Bandello or from the previous version by Luigi da Porto there is no means of ascertaining.

Still presumption points to Bandello. The various French and English versions of the story upon record are derived from him. We have it on the authority of Du Verdier that the *Roméo et Juliette* written by Cosme la Gambe, *alias* Chasteauvieux, at some time between 1560 and 1581, was « tirée de Bandel »². The English non-dramatic versions proceed, if not from Bandello

1. For an endeavour to assign a definite date to this play, see Cunliffe, *The original Romeo and Juliet*.

2. Quoted by Lanson in *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 'X' (1903), 199. This play is known to have been acted in 1581 (cf. Sturel, *Bandello en France au XVI^e siècle*, 3, and White, *Notes and Queries*, CLIV (1927), 95-96); Fränkel would have it that it had been written as early as 1560 (*Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Stoffes von Romeo und Julia*); but as a matter of fact the exact date of composition remains conjectural. This being so, we cannot dwell upon the hypothesis that it may have influenced the first English play upon the same subject. Even if it did it only transmitted into England Bandello's influence, either directly or through the medium of Boastuau's prose translation.

directly, at least from the translation of his novel published by Pierre Boaistuau in 1559. They all copy an important change which the latter introduced in the final scene as related by both Bandello and Luigi da Porto. The two Italian novelists had made Juliet wake from her trance in the tomb before Romeo's death. In Boaistuau and his English imitators, on the contrary, Romeo dies believing Juliet to be dead indeed, and she awakes only to find his corpse lying by her side. As the known dramatic versions, including Shakespeare's, also agree with Boaistuau in this respect, it would seem that no other version of the story was influential in England¹.

However this may be, our conspectus of the sixteenth century translations or adaptations of Bandello's *novelle* starts with Arthur Brooke's. The first three parts of these *Novelle* were published in 1554². A French translation of six of these, by Pierre Boaistuau, was issued in Paris in 1559, and these were followed in the same year by twelve more, turned into French by François de Belleforest³. Though he gave out his *Tragicall Historie of Romeus and Juliet*, first published in 1562, as "written first in Italian by Bandell, and now in English by Ar. Br.", Brooke did not go to the Italian text for his model but followed, with various additions and modifications to be considered later, Boaistuau's translation of Bandello's *Romeo*, which he turned into a poem

1. Cf. Sturel, *Op. cit.*; Moore, *Le rôle de Boaistuau dans le développement de la légende de Roméo et Juliette*; Symonds, *The Italian Renaissance*, vol. V, ch. X, pp. 53-68; Axon, *Romeo and Juliet before and in Shakespeare's time*; Fuller, *Romeo and Julietta*; the various modern editions of Brooke's poem; and H. Hauvette, « La Légende de la « Morte Vivante », (X), dans *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 30 march 1933, pp. 709-726.

2. The fourth part was published in 1573.

3. See Bibliography. As regards the priority of the editions brought out in 1559 by Vincent Sertenas over those of Gilles Robinot and Ben. Prevost, of the same year, cf. R. Pruvost, *Les deux premiers tomes de la version française de Bandello*. For a list of the novels of Bandello translated in these volumes and in those later to be compiled by Belleforest, cf. Sturel, *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11 and 56. Some slight errors have crept into the second list. In Belleforest's second volume, tale n° 7: Mort de Julie de Gazuolo, is from Bandello, I, 8, not I, 25, and tale n° 14: Un écolier de Bologne meurt de peur en croyant faire des incantations dans un tombeau, is from Bandello, III, 29, not III, 19. In the fourth volume tale n° 7: Une jeune fille abandonnée de celui qu'elle aimait recouvra son amour après l'avoir servi déguisée en page, is from Bandello, II, 36, not II, 5; tale n° 13: Coutume des habitants d'Hidreuse, is from Bandello, I, 56, not I, 58; and conversely tale n° 14: Caractère indépendant et aventures du peintre Filippo Lippi, is from Bandello, I, 58, not I, 56.

consisting of 3020 lines of 6 and 7 stresses alternately¹. His name does not occur on the title-page in full, but his authorship of the translation is vouched for by George Turberville in the Epitaph that he wrote upon his death². This took place in 1563³. At the time, according to Turberville's Epitaph, Brooke's virtues were "as many as his yeares in number few". Yet he had, in a piece of verse prefixed to his translation, alluded to the "long travell" with which his Muse had "at length brought forth her tender whelpes", and described the translation itself as "the eldest of them" and "my youthfull woorke". Manifestly this must not be understood to mean that he was giving out to the world a work composed many years before. Indeed, as Munro has remarked, "the immediate origin of the poem was Boaistuau's *Histoires Tragiques*, and this was not published till 1559"⁴. The publication of Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* can hardly have failed to follow closely upon its composition.

The same story was to be included by William Painter in the second volume of his *Palace of Pleasure*, dated November 8, 1567. But this did not prevent Brooke's version from retaining its popularity. Writing soon after Brooke's death, Turberville had recorded his appreciation of it⁵. It was brought out again by

1. Bandello, II, 9, through Boaistuau, 3. See Daniel's and Munro's reprints of Brooke's poem.

2. Published in Turberville's *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, it contains the following :

Apollo lent him Lute for solace sake
To sound his Verse by touch of stately string,
And of the never fading Baye did make
A Lawrell Crowne, about his browes to cling,
In proufe that he for Myter did excell
As may be judge by Julyet and hir mate :
For there he shewde his cunning passing well
When he the Tale to English did translate.

3. It is the subject of a poem by "Thomas Broke the younger" printed upon the last page of Arthur Brooke's *The Agreement of Soncary places of Scripture*, of the same year, and Munro has found himself "able to state definitely that Brooke was drowned with Sir Thomas Finch on March 19th, 1563, in the ship Greyhound, near Rye", (*Op. cit.*, 167).

4. *Op. cit.*, xxiv-xxv.

5. See above, n. 2. That Turberville composed Brooke's epitaph soon after his death may be inferred from the opening lines :

At pointe to ende and finish this my Booke,
Come good report to mee, and wilde me write
A dolefull Verse, in praise of Arthur Brooke.

Richard Tottell, the original publisher, on November 19, 1567, and perhaps again in 1583¹, and another edition was given out by R. Robinson in 1587. Meanwhile, the story of Romeo and Juliet had been alluded to by Thomas Peend, or Delapeend, in the course of his *Pleasant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis*, 1565².

Peend's interest had evidently been aroused by some of the most romantic among Bandello's *novelle*. Not only does his *Hermaphroditus and Salmacis* also contain an allusion to "Adelasie", the only daughter of the German Emperor, who was so enamoured of "Aleran", one of the Duke of Saxony's sons, that she fled the court with him because she felt that she could not have obtained her father's consent to their marriage³, but he still brought out about the same time a metrical translation, in lines of six and seven stresses alternately, rhyming in couplets, of another story brimming over with romantic incidents, that of "the lorde Mandozze". The unique copy in which this has been preserved, now in the British Museum Library, lacks both the title-page and the final leaves⁴. But a dedicatory poem addressed to "the ryght worshipfull syr Thomas Kemp Knyght" is signed "From the mydle Temple.

1. The unique copy of the 1567 edition, in the Huntington Library, lacks the title-page, but the date is given in the colophon: cf. H. C. Bartlett, *Mr William Shakespeare*, Yale University Press, 1922, N^o 208. — Together with a large number of other works, Brooke's poem was entered to Tottell in the Stationers' Registers on February 18, 1583; Arber's *Transcript*, II, 419.

2. See the text of the allusion in Koeppel, *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle*, 92. — I pass over *The Tragicall and True Historie which happened betwene two English lovers, 1563, written by Ber. Gar.*, 1565, which Collier asserted to have been "composed in decided imitation of Arthur Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*" (*Shakespeare's Library*, London, 1843, vol. II). As Daniel has shown, *Op. cit.*, xxxiii-xxxiv, beyond its author's adoption of Brooke's phraseology, this piece "has nothing in common with the story of *Romeus and Juliet*". Nor indeed does it bear any relation to any one of Bandello's stories.

3. Bandello, II, 27. Peend's summary of the story is as follows: "Adelasie. Doughter and onelye chylde of the Emperour Otho the thyrde, so excedynglye she was enamoured of the most valiant Aleran, sonne of a Duke of Saxony that she procured hym pryvely to convey her awaye, which by the helpe of an old lady her nurce, he brought to passe. And afterwarde beinge robed of suche money as they had provided, they lyved long in a woode, and made coles for theyr lyvynge, and bare hym seven sonnes theare, and afterwarde by the valyante feates of her eldest sonne, they were knowen to the Emperoure: and so had hys favoure agayne, and enjoyed the Empyre after him". Quoted from Koeppel, *Op. cit.*, 94-95.

4. British Museum, C. 39 k. 10.

Your kydesman : to commaund. T. Delapeend" ¹. The date of publication may be gathered from the fact that "the most notable history of ye lorde Mandozze" was entered in the Registers of the Company of Stationers, to Thomas Colwell, in the twelvemonth between July 22, 1565 and July 22, 1566, at the same time as the same author's "the pleasaunte fable of OVIDE intituled Hermaphroditus and SALMACIS", the title-page of which states that it was issued "Anno Domini 1565; mense Decembris" ².

After being related by Bandello (II, 44), the story now versified by Peend had been translated into French by Boaiſtiau (Hist. 6). In England, Painter also included it in the first volume of his *Palace of Pleasure*, of which it is n^o 45. Now this volume was issued on the 26th of January 1566, and its publication may have forestalled Peend's *Mandozze* by a few days or perhaps weeks ³. Hence, at a first glance, there is some measure of plausibility in the surmise put forward by Painter's modern editors, Haslewood and Jacobs, that "Peend must have found his materials in the *Palace of Pleasure*" ⁴.

Haslewood further saw some confirmation of this hypothesis in the allusions made by Peend, "in another poem, to Tancred and Gismond and Romeo and Juliet". The "other poem" is Peend's *Hermaphroditus and Salmacis*. It is quite true that Peend there alluded to "Kyng Tancreds doughter Gysmond", or again "Gismonde", and her unfortunate love for "Guistarde" ⁵, and that Painter included this same story in his *Palace of Pleasure*, I, 39. But Painter calls the lovers "Guiscardo" and "Gismonda"; the

1. Surely this work should have been listed in Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640* under Peend, or Delapeend, and not under Mendoza.

2. Both entries follow each other in immediate succession ; cf. Arber's *Transcript*, I, 301.

3. Its entry in the Stationers' Registers between July 22, 1565, and July 22, 1566, comes earlier than those of Peend's two translations (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 300). Besides, the entry to "W. Jonnes", in 1562-63, of "a boke intituled *The Cytie of Cyvelite*, translated into englishe by William Paynter" (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 204) is usually supposed to refer to a first batch of the stories later to be included in the *Palace of Pleasure*. It is of course possible that Painter might have already at that early date translated the story of "the Lorde Mandozze".

4. So Haslewood, introd. to Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, I, 22. According to Jacobs, *Palace of Pleasure*, I, lxxvi, "De la Peend must have had proof-sheets of Painter".

5. See the text of the allusion in Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 81.

forms used by Peend would rather seem to be derived from William Walter's *The amerous history of Guystarde and Sygysmonde*, 1532. In the same way, Peend calls the Veronese lovers "Romeus" and "Juliet", as Brooke had done, and not "Rhomeo" and "Julietta", as Painter was to do. Besides, Haslewood had apparently lost sight of the fact that this latter story occurs, not in Painter's first volume, but in the second, which was not published till the 8th of november 1567. It is not possible to agree with his view that Peend drew upon Painter for his knowledge of these two stories.

Nor for that of "the lord Mandozze". His allusion to "Aleran" and "Adelasie", who are also to be met with in Painter's collection, seems to have escaped Haslewood's attention. Now in Bandello these lovers bear the names of *Aleramo* and *Adelasia*. In Belleforest's *Continuation des Histoires Tragiques* (Ist story or, according to the usual continuous numbering of Boaistuau's and Belleforest's novels, story 7), their names are Frenchified into *Aleran* and *Adelasie*. When, taking Belleforest for his immediate model, Painter related their story in his turn (*Palace of Pleasure*, I, 44), he changed these names into "Alerane" and "Adelasia", in conformity as it would seem with the requirements of English spelling and euphony. But Peend does nothing of the kind. They are "Aleran" and "Adelasie" with him as with Belleforest. It looks as if he had come across them, not in the pages of his fellow-countryman, but in those of the Frenchman. And this serves to give additional point to Koeppel's remark that the resemblance between Peend's and Painter's account of the fortunes of "the lord Mandozze" is due to their having a common source in the French translation by Boaistuau of this novel of Bandello's ¹.

In his translation of this story, Painter follows his French model so closely that similarities of matter and phrasing between Peend and Boaistuau are liable to be inconclusive. But Peend occasionally betrays an imperfect understanding of phrases in the French original which Painter for his part has correctly and accurately translated ². To be sure this can be accounted for only upon the

1. *Ibid.*, 96.

2. In the following passage, for instance :

.....Now go thy waye,
To talke with thy Physician,
and I without delay,
Wyll lay me downe to rest,

hypothesis that he worked, not upon Painter's version, but upon Boaiſtuau's. Indeed the form "the lord Mandozze" that he uses throughout is a direct transcription of Boaiſtuau's *Seigneur Mandozze*, a gentleman whom Painter for his part ſtyled either "the lord of Mendoza" or "Don John di Mendoza".

Thus there can be no doubt that it was in Boaiſtuau's *Histoires Tragiques* that Peend read the ſtory of this Spaniſh Lord¹. Having to do with his relations with the Ducheff of Savoy, a moſt beautiful lady who was the King of England's ſiſter, it is full of wonderful and touching incidents, ſet a-rolling by a few innocent words prompted by ſiſterly affection. The Ducheff one day overheard a Spaniſh lady remark to one of her train, after moſt intently gazing upon her, that if ſuch a beautiful lady could have married her brother they would have been the fineſt pair in the world. Struck by theſe words, ſhe ſucceeded in making friends with the ſtranger, who was the Lord Mandozze's ſiſter, Iſabell, then going to Rome on a pilgrimage, and became poſſeſſed of an irreſiſtible deſire to become acquainted with her well-favoured brother. Hence, with the complicity of her woman and her woman's lover, a phyſician named Appian, ſhe feigned a moſt ſerious illneſs in the courſe of which ſhe regiſtered a ſolemn vow, if ever ſhe recovered,

and fayne diſeaſe, ſo well
That none may it perceive,... (fo C 6v.),

a paſſage which is a looſe but nevertheless recogniſable translation of Boaiſtuau's : « Va ſeulement traicter ton medecin, comme tu l'entends, car c'eſt bien le plus expedient qu'il ſoit de la partie, & me laiſſe faire du reſte : car jamais gueux ne contrefiſt mieulx l'impotent, que je ne ſçauray faire la malade... », (Boaiſtuau, *Hist.* 6, fo 127), it would ſeem that the Engliſh "will lay me downe to reſt" is a lame effort at translating « & me laiſſe faire de reſte », by one who realiſed but dimly the import of the French phraſe. Painter's translation at any rate is quite accurate : "Goe thy way then, and entertaine thy Phyiſitian, as thou thinkeſt beſt, for it is very expedient that he be a partie, and for the reſt let me alone...", *Palace of Pleaſure*, ed. Jacobs, I, 291.

1. In Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges' *British Bibliographer*, II, 323, there is a notice of Peend's work founded upon a copy lacking the title page. I do not know upon what grounds the author of it ſtates that it was "translated from the Spaniſh", a ſtatement which is alſo to be found upon the manuſcript title-page with which the British Muſeum copy has been ſupplied. It is true that Boaiſtuau claims to have followed for his verſion of this ſtory a Spaniſh author, Valentinus Barruchius, « plus volontiers que les autheurs Italiens qui l'ont ſemblablement eſcripte ». But 'as to the mythical character of this ſame Barruchius, cf. Sturel, *Op. cit.*, 7. Beſides, even ſuppoſing him to have exiſted, Boaiſtuau ſtates that he had written, not in Spaniſh, but in Latin.

to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St James at Compostella. Of course she was well again by the time Isabell returned to Turin on her way back, and now, with the Duke's consent, both ladies set out together for Spain. The road to Compostella passed by the seat of the Lord Mandozze, and there the Duchess staid for three days, at the end of which both these noble persons gave each other to understand, though in covert and guarded terms in which more was hinted than actually spoken, that neither viewed the other with indifference. But the Duchess was never to visit the place again. When she reached Compostella, the Duke her husband was already there. He had felt some compunction at his lack of prudence in allowing his lady to undertake such a dangerous journey without sufficient escort, had sailed to Compostella, and now took her back home with him by sea. Of course the Duchess never revealed the true reason for her journey to Spain, and with her short-lived dream buried in her heart she lived on to all outward appearance very much the same as before.

But she was soon to be visited by misfortune. The wars called the Duke away from home, and in his absence the Earl of Pancalier, whom he had left in charge of all his affairs, attempted to win the love of the Duchess. She rejected his suit with indignation, and Pancalier thought it necessary for his own safety to frame a plot that would ruin her reputation. He prevailed upon a nephew of his to hide himself at night in the Duchess's room, then broke into it, stabbed him on the spot, and charged the Duchess with adultery. She was sentenced to be burned alive at the end of a year, if before this time no champion had come forward to vindicate her innocence. Meanwhile she was to be kept a prisoner.

Now her maid pointed out to her that she could have no better or more willing a champion than the Lord Mandozze. Appian was accordingly dispatched to Spain. But Mandozze was then lying besieged in a stronghold of his by his enemies. Though the physician succeeded in getting to him and making his way back, the Spanish nobleman excused himself upon his present predicament from coming to the rescue of the Duchess.

When informed of this, she was aggrieved with the Lord Mandozze for deserting her in her hour of need, and at the same time chastened into accepting all her trials as a punishment from Heaven for her guilty infatuation and the deceit she had practised upon her husband. But Mandozze on his part felt remorse at attempting

nothing to relieve the distress of a Lady who had given him such a flattering mark of her interest. So he broke in his turn through the besiegers' lines and made secretly for Turin, where he took lodgings with a Spanish monk. Before fighting for the Lady, however, he wished to make sure that she was innocent of the crime for which she had been condemned. He managed to gain access to her in the disguise of a holy friar and, after hearing her confession, made ready for the combat. There he defeated Pancalier, forced from him a public avowal of his treason, and made away so fast and so secretly that it was impossible for any one to know the identity of the doughty champion who had vindicated the honour of the Duchess¹.

She was to be apprised of it some years later. The Duke her husband had been killed in the wars, and she had returned to England to live at the court of her brother the King. Mandozze on his part had triumphed over his enemies. Now he happened to come to the English court at the head of an Embassy sent over by the Spanish King to negotiate a marriage between his son and the King of England's daughter. The former Duchess of Savoy bore him a grudge, and at first she would hardly speak to him. But one day she descried upon his finger the very ring she had given to the friar who had heard her confession, and could not forbear from asking him how he had come by it. The truth was revealed, Mandozze made an offer of his hand to the widowed Duchess, and with the consent of her royal brother she married him at last.

II

So far there is nothing to show that Bandello's novels were known in England otherwise than through their French translators. With Painter it is otherwise². *The Palace of Pleasure Beautified*,

1. The British Museum fragment stops with the relation of this combat.

2. Before Painter brought out his first volume there was published *The Historie of Ariodanto and Jenevra, daughter to the King of Scottes, in English Verse* by Peter Beverley. This was entered to "henry Wekes" in 1566-67 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 312). Though Miss Scott states that "it is not now known" (*Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, p. 228) there is a copy, printed by T. East for F. Coldocke, in the Houghton Library (Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-title Catalogue*, n° 1985). The

adorned and well furnished, with Pleasaunt Histories and excellent Nouelles, selected out of diuers good and commendable Authors. By William Painter Clarke of the Ordinaunce and Armarie, is dedicated to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in an epistle addressed from "nere the Tower of London the first of Januarie, 1566". It was "imprinted at London, by Henry Denham for Richard Tottell and William Jones Anno Domini 1566 January 26", and Haslewood has shown that this must be understood to mean January 1566 according to the new style ¹. It is a collection of sixty novels, nearly half of which record the worthy doings of sundry antique characters or are derived from ancient authors such as Livy, Herodotus, Aelian, Xenophon, Quintus Curtius, Aulus-Gellius and Plutarch, whereas for the remaining but far more bulky batch the translator drew upon such modern writers as Pero Mexia, Boccaccio, Bandello, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, Straparola, the Queen of Navarre, and the anonymous author of the *Contes du Monde Aventureux* ². "Out of Bandello", Painter writes in the Epistle to the Reader, "I have selected seven, chosing rather to follow Launay and Belleforest the French Translatours, than the barren soile of his own vain, who being a Lombard, doth frankly confesse himselfe to be no fine Florentine, or trimme Thoscane, as eloquent and gentle Boccaccio was" ³. And this is true so far as it goes. But it does not go far enough. For one more of his stories Painter drew direct upon Bandello.

This is novel 27, the heroes of which are Antiochus, the son of Seleucus the King of Babylon, and his step-mother "the faire

theme is the same as that of Bandello, I, 22 (and not 20, as Miss Scott would have it). But Beverley's poem is a translation of the Ginevra episode in the *Orlando Furioso*, upon which Bandello's novel is also based (Cf. B. Matulka, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and their European diffusion*, Institute of French Studies, New York, 1931, p. 193).

1. *Palace of Pleasure*, I, 6: "It must be read as 1565-6 to explain a passage in another Epistle before the second volume, where he speaks of his histories "parte wherof, two yeares past (almost) were made commune in a former booke", concluding "from my pore house besides the Tower of London, the iiii. of November, 1567".

2. The first set takes up exactly 100 pages in Jacobs's edition. In 1575 six more novels were added to the second set, namely those bearing in modern editions nos 56, 60, 61, 62, 63 and 64, which all come from the *Heptaméron*. These being included in the reckoning, the modern novels extend in Jacobs's edition over 393 pages.

3. Jacobs, I, 11.

Stratonica". The gist of the story is as follows : Antiochus was twenty four years of age when his father Seleucus took to wife a lady many years younger than himself, Stratonica by name, who was so fair withal that her step-son fell passionately in love with her. He tried to keep his guilty passion secret, but the effort threw him into an illness which was only made worse by the devotion with which the Queen tended him. Yet this was to be the means of his recovery, for the court physician Erisistratus shrewdly guessed the cause of his distemper by noting that his pulse was active whenever Stratonica was by, and dull when she was away. Whereupon he went to the King and imparted to him his conviction that his son was dying for the love of some woman. Who is she? Seleucus exclaimed. I will give my kingdom to make her his if thereby I can save his life. I am afraid this cannot be, the crafty physician answered, for she is my own wife. Now the King launched into a long speech to coax Erisistratus into resigning his wife to Antiochus. The other listened respectfully, but remained obdurate. Consider what your feelings would be, he said in effect, if you were asked to repudiate the Queen so that your son might marry her. I would do so at once if this could make him whole, the King answered. And now was the time for the wily Erisistratus to spring his surprise. He revealed to Seleucus that it was indeed Stratonica whom Antiochus loved, and the King was as good as his word. Though he had to bring some persuasion to bear in order to make them accept his sacrifice, he resigned Stratonica to Antiochus and gave them a large part of his dominions for a wedding-present.

In a table showing the sources of his different stories, Painter mentioned Plutarch's Life of Demetrius as the origin of this one, and Haslewood let it stand at that, his attitude in the matter being copied by Miss Scott and later by Mr. Hamish Miles. But Koeppel had set things right, a good many years before Miss Scott and Mr. Miles revived Haslewood's error, by remarking that Painter's novel began with these words : "Although the wyse Philosopher Plutarcke, elegantly and brieflye describeth this historie, in the life of Demetrius : yet bicause Bandello aptlye and more at large doth discourse the same, I thought good to apply my pen to his stile" ¹.

1. Jacobs, I, 102 ; cf. Koeppel, *Op. cit.*, 6. — Painter's editors and Miss Scott would also have it that novel II, dealing with the continency of King Cyrus and

It may be noticed that here Painter does not mention, as he does elsewhere, the French translation of Bandello. Indeed Belleforest's translation of Bandello II, 55, or: "Seleuco re de l'Asia dona la moglie sua al figliuolo che n'era innamorato", was to appear only in 1570 (*Histoires Tragiques*, IV, 63). Though his rendering is in this case somewhat looser than when he is translating from the French, Painter follows the Italian text closely enough for one to accept the truth of his assertion that he had applied his pen to the style of Bandello¹.

Thus it will be seen that if, for those novels of his which he gave out as coming from Bandello, Painter went to the French translations rather than to the Italian original, he did not do so through ignorance of the latter, but rather deliberately and purposely². This makes it all the more curious that he should betray no consciousness of the great variety of Bandello's matter. At this early date at any rate, — and he may have been influenced into thinking so by the title of the French volume of translations —, he seems to have looked upon grim tragedy as his distinctive characteristic. For he inserted after the last of his seven stories "out of Bandello" the following Advertisement to the Reader, which is the only one of the kind in his collection: "After these tragicall Nouvelles and dolorous Histories of Bandello, I have thoughte good for thy recreacion, to refresh thy mind with some pleasaunt devises and disportes: least thy spirites, and sences

the chastity of his captive "the Ladie Panthea", was derived from Bandello, III, 9, and not from the source mentioned by Painter himself, namely Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (cf. Jacobs, I, 58: "This Panthea... ..as Xenophon writeth, and partly as S. Hierome reporteth"). A mere glance at the English and the Italian texts is enough to show the correctness of Koepfel's assertion that Painter's translation has nothing in common with Bandello's narrative (Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 5; Bush, *The classical tales in Painter's Palace of Pleasure*, also gives Xenophon as the source of this novel of Painter's). Nor could Painter have drawn upon Belleforest, for if the latter did turn this Italian story into French, he did so only in the fourth volume of his *Histoires Tragiques* (hist. 73), the epistle dedicatory of which is dated May 1570.

1. Letterio di Francia has shown, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 39-40, that the source of Bandello is not Plutarch's *Demetrius*, but rather Appian's *De rebus Syriacis*, chapters 59-61.

2. The same conclusion may be drawn from such a stray remark as this: "This Lorde (whom Bandello the aucthour of this history affirmeth to be Signor de la Rocca Soarda, but the translatour and augmentor of the same in French called François de Belle Forest, leaveth out his name, for good respect as he alleageth) kept a great Court..." ; I, 41, Jacobs, I, 198.

should be apalled and astonned with the sondrie kindes of cruelties remembred in the vij. of the former novelles. Which be so straunge and terrible as they be able to affright the stoutest". He evidently felt some qualm at relating such horrors, for he excuses them upon the wholesomeness of the moral to be drawn from them: "And yet considering that they be very good lessons for avoyding like inconveniences, and apt examples for continuacion of good and honest life, they are the better to be borne with, and may with lesse astonishment be read and marked". And he promises that: "They that follow, be mitigated and sweetened with pleasure, not altogether so sower as the former be"¹.

These seven novels are all faithfull translations from the French. They bulk largely in the collection, occupying 174 out of 492 pages in Jacobs's reprint. The first (I, 40) relates the story of "Hyerenee the faire Greeke". It proceeds from Bandello I, 10 through Boaiustauau, 2². Its hero is the Mahomet who took Constantinople in 1453. After the fall of the town, he had been given a most beautiful captive, the fair "Hyerenee", and had become so infatuated with her that he spent all his time in her company and sorely neglected the affairs of his Empire. Till his faithful counsellor Mustapha felt it incumbent upon him to remonstrate with his Lord. To his long oration, in which he recalled to him the worthy deeds of his ancestors and drew a striking parallel between their activity and his present inertia, Mahomet gave an attentive, if not unmoved, hearing. He then announced to Mustapha that the next day he would show him what power he still preserved over himself, went back to Hyerenee, all that day and night "made more of her than ever he did before", and when morning had come bade her array herself in her most sumptuous clothes and magnificent jewels, and with her appeared before the assembly of his Bashaws. While they were ready to proclaim that he was right to forget all things else for the love of so fair a creature, he struck her head off with his falchion, saying as soon as it had rolled down: "Now ye know whether your Emperour is able to repress and bridle his affections or not?" And soon after he fitted up a new expedition

1. Jacobs, I, 364.

2. According to Letterio di Francia, the historical background of the novel comes from Giovio's *Turcicarum rerum commentarius*, but the account of the loves of Mahomet and "Hyerenee" is due to Bandello's own invention; *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 21-23.

and went and laid the siege before Belgrade, where he suffered a repulse that looks very much like poetical justice.

There is more than poetical justice in the next story (I, 41). Proceeding from Bandello, I, 24, through Belleforest, 8, it has for its heroine "A Ladie falslie accused". She was the wife of a noble Lord "in the countrie of Aquitane". Like the Duchess of Savoy in the novel translated by Thomas Peend, she was sued in love by one of her husband's servants, and like her indignantly denied the suit of the lustful hireling. He then felt very much like Pancalier after his repulse by the Duchess, and contrived very much the same sort of plot for the ruin of his Lady. There was in the household a poor simpleton whom the Lady made so gentle fun of that every one called him her favourite. The treacherous steward prevailed upon him to hide himself every night in the Lady's room, from which he was to issue at dawn only. Then he went to a staid old man, a fellow-servant of his, imparted to him his suspicion that their Lady was playing false to their Lord, and for the better confirmation of his imputation showed him the young man as he was stealing out of her chamber. Of course the Lord was apprised by his aged servant of what had been discovered, upon which he had the poor witless fellow clapped into jail and his wife sentenced to death. So far both novels run a parallel course. Both also may be said to work up, though with considerable variation in detail, a situation the most familiar example of which is to be found in the story of Susanna and the Elders. What makes it seem likely that Bandello should have had this story in mind is that what now happens to the Lady forms a striking parallel with perhaps the most famous incident in the life of Susanna's deliverer¹. For the nobleman kept some lions in the base-court of his castle, and he decided that as a punishment for her crime his Lady should be thrown to them. She raised up to Heaven a moving prayer for a clear sign that she was innocent, and lo! the savage beasts went up to her, licked her hands, crouched at her feet, and did her no harm. Now it is a well known fact that a lion will not raise its claws against a virgin. It is to be supposed that it will in the same way respect a married lady if she has never

1. It must be said in all fairness that this is mere guess-work on my part. There is nothing in Letterio di Francia or in Fresco: *M. Bandello e le sue novelle*, as to the source of this novel or of that of "the Lord Mandozze".

broken the sixth and ninth commandments. At least so the bystanders seem to have thought, for they saw in the behaviour of the lions a proof of their Lady's guiltlessness, and with one voice asked that she might be set free and her accuser condignly punished. A confession of the truth was extracted from him, and in his turn he was thrown to the lions, which immediately tore him to pieces, while the Lady was restored in the love and confidence of her husband, and was wise enough not to bear him any grudge for having sentenced her without so much as hearing what she had to say in her own defence.

This novel closes upon a cheerful and morally comforting note. The previous one had a more tragic ending, and in both the male characters show themselves liable to act, though for a worthy cause, with some measure of cruelty and even brutality. In neither however is there anything that would have made it necessary for Painter to go out of his way, as he was soon to do, to excuse himself for relating cruelties "so strange and terrible as they be able to affright the stoutest". There is better ground for this in the story of Didaco and Violenta (I, 42, from *Bandello* I, 42 through *Boaistuau*, 5)¹. Didaco Ventimiglia belonged to one of the most ancient families in Valencia. He fell in love with Violenta, whose father, now dead, had plied the trade of a goldsmith in the same city. Though he wooed her long and ardently, and though she returned his love, she was so virtuously inclined that she steadily refused to grant him anything not consistent with the nicest honour, till at long last he was fain to marry her. The marriage was kept secret and Violenta went on living with her mother and sisters, where she was joined every night by Didaco. But his comings and goings attracted the attention of the neighbours, who began looking askance at the young woman, and she asked her lover to own her publicly as his wife. He pleaded that the time was not

1. The source of this novel is not discussed, either, by Letterio di Francia. Towards the end of his translation, *Boaistuau* writes : « L'auteur Italien descript que l'esclave Janique fut deffaicte avec sa maistresse, mais Paludanus Espaignol de nation, qui regnoit de ce temps, lequel a escript l'histoire en Latin fort elegant, acertene nommément qu'elle ne fut jamais apprehendée, ce que j'ay ensuyvi comme le plus probable » (f^{os} 119-120). But about this *Paludanus*, as well as about *Valentinus Barruchius*, *Sturel* writes : « Je n'en ai trouvé la mention nulle part, et je crains bien de ne la rencontrer jamais » ; *Op. cit.*, p. 7. — Miss Scott is mistaken in her reference to *Boaistuau*, 4, (p. 14) as the model from which Painter translated this story.

yet ripe, and she loved him so that she was content with his reasons and had rather suffer herself than put him to any inconvenience. 'Alas! she loved more than she was loved. The edge of his desire being blunted by possession, Didaco resorted to Violenta less frequently than at first. Soon he desisted from his visits altogether, and Violenta learned that he had married a rich heiress: This news turned her love into implacable hatred and made her thirst for revenge. Through her slave Janique, whose help she bought with the promise of a large monetary reward, she sent Didaco a message urgently requiring his presence at her house on the same night. He promised to come, in the hope that he should be able to smooth matters over and avoid a scandal, and now Violenta went with fearsome zest through her preparations for murdering him. How she provided herself with a rope wherewith to tie him to his bed and with a large kitchen-knife, how she disposed everything in readiness, assigned to Janique her own part in the execution of the vengeance, all this is related with a great luxury of details. The murder itself is most minutely described. Nor is it an ordinary murder. Violenta was not satisfied with furiously stabbing her faithless husband, but she also tore his eyes out, slit his tongue off, cut his heart out of his chest, hacked it to pieces, and threw his mangled remains out of the window into the street. There they were found at dawn by the passers-by, and soon a large body of people were gathered round them, wondering whose they were till Violenta herself appeared upon the scene. I can tell who this is, she said in effect, but I will only speak before a magistrate. Before a magistrate she was accordingly led, and there she confessed her crime and related her story. The truth of what she had said being confirmed by judicial enquiry, she was sentenced to death. As for Janique, Bandello had said that she was executed with her mistress. Painter follows Boaištuau in asserting that she made her escape by sea and was never heard of again.

The next novel (I, 43, from Bandello II, 12 through Boaištuau, 4) harps upon the same string, and yet with a difference¹. "A Ladie of Thurin" had been married to a gentleman many years older

1. It is of Oriental origin and had been borrowed by Bandello, with its location in Piedmont, from his contemporary Doni; Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 9. See also Fresco: *M. Bandello e le sue novelle*, 37.

than herself. He had taken her away from her native town to live on his country-estate, where time hung all the more heavily upon her hands as her husband was often away from home. Thus it came to pass that during one of his absences she became the mistress of a young, well-favoured neighbour of hers, into whose arms she did not fall indeed, but rather threw herself with fully premeditated intent. At his return, the husband noticed a strange alteration in her and, though he showed no sign, began to watch her narrowly. Now the young gallant was foolhardy enough to parade up and down before his paramour's door, and by so doing gave the necessary clue to the suspicious husband who then, in the most cool-blooded fashion, set about laying a snare for the culprits. He invited his neighbour to his house, retired to his room under pretence that he did not feel well, and from his window watched the lovers, who had gone into the garden together. Though he saw them exchange various endearments, they were not so lost to all sense of prudence that he could take them in the very act. So he pretended a short time after to have been called abroad upon some mission. He sent his train away in advance, took a loving farewell of his wife, and returned in the night with two of his men. Of course the lady was in her lover's company, and now the offended husband proceeded to wreak his vengeance with a deliberation that contrasts with the frenzy of *Violenta*, and is indeed all the more striking because of its passionless character. He had ordered his companions to bring their horses' bridles with them : they were used to bind the young man's arms and legs with ; when he had been so secured, the lady was made to hang him from the master-beam with her own hands ; finally the lord set fire to all the bedding and furniture in the room, "not suffering so much straw, as would serve the couche of two dogges, to be left unconsumed", and caused the doors and windows to be mured, leaving no other aperture than a small hole through which the lady could be given bread and water. For he sentenced her to spend the rest of her days in this room, with no company but her lover's body dangling at the end of its rope.

This macabre vengeance, so deliberately planned, so coolly executed, completes the tale of the cruelties for which Painter might have thought it necessary to apologise. For the remaining three novels "out of *Bandello*" are more noticeable for their romantic than for their horrible character. In one indeed a lady is put in

jeopardy of her life through the treachery of a worthless fellow, and in another the heroine has some reason to fear that violence may be done to her. In one also there is a brutal enough murder, and in this and the next the course of passion runs dangerously high. But on the whole they are remarkably free from the gruesome butchery and implacable justice of the foregoing; they all end happily; and in each the stress is laid on the tender emotions, on faithfulness, devotion and their reward, rather than upon treachery, unfaithfulness, cruelty and vengeance. With two of these our reader is already acquainted. For one (I, 44, from Bandello, II, 27 through Belleforest, 7) deals with: "The love of Alerane of Saxone, and of Adelasia the daughter of the Emperour Otho the thirde of that name. Their flight and departure into Italie, and how they were known againe, and what noble houses of Italie descended of their race". Its subject is sufficiently indicated by Thomas Peend's summary, which has been quoted above. At least this gives the general trend of those incidents in the careers of Alerane and Adelasia which Bandello might have known through the relations of many historical writers, supplemented by local tradition. But it supplies no indication of the fact that the Italian *novelliere*, and his French translator after him, introduced into the historical narrative a long-drawn account of the loves of the two heroes that is largely borrowed from that classic of love-literature, the *Historia de duobus amantibus* of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini¹, and is a fitting preface to their flight, their life as charcoal-burners in a forest, their enduring devotion to each other, and the highly romantic circumstances in which thanks to the prowess of their eldest son, who had left them to take service with the Emperor, they were found again and Alerane was restored to favour and in time succeeded to the Empire.

Here we have a tale of young and faithful love involving its protagonists in many hardships for which they receive in the end ample compensation through a most wonderful series of events. The next story (I, 45, from Bandello, II, 44 through Boaistuau, 6)² is no other than that of "the Lord Mandozze" and the Duchess of Savoy. There may be a clue to the reasons that drew Painter's

1. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 26.

2. Hamish Miles erroneously states that this novel had been translated into French by Belleforest.

attention to it in his summary : "The Duchesse of Savoie, being the kinge of England's sister, was in the Duke her husbandes absence, unjustlye accused. of adulterie, by a noble man, his Lieutenant : and shoulde have beene put to death, if by the prowess and valiaunt combate of Don John di Mendozza, (a gentleman of Spaine) she had not beene delivered. With a discourse of marvelous accidentes, touching the same, to the singuler praise and commendation of chaste and honest Ladies" .

Finally, the romantic adventures of "The Countesse of Salisburie" (I, 46, from Bandello, II, 37 through Boaistuau, I) are of a decidedly moral cast¹. Yet this Lady had been made to cut no very praiseworthy figure in the pages of most historians. Froissart alone had credited her with remaining unshaken in her virtue and conjugal faithfulness in spite of the very ardent suit of her sovereign Lord, King Edward III. of England, and from him it is, it would seem, that Bandello had borrowed the beginning of his novel. But in Froissart there is nothing beyond the meeting of the King and the Countess at a time when her husband was away fighting the French in Flanders, his sudden infatuation, his wooing of her and her denial. To this Bandello has added considerable developments the source of which, supposing they are not of his invention, has not yet been discovered², and of course they are also to be found in Boaistuau and in Painter³. Here one reads that, the Count of Salisbury having been killed in the French wars, his widow left the Scottish border for London, where she lived with her parents the Earl and Countess of Warwick. The King renewed his suit,

1. Jacobs's mistaken reference to Bandello, II, 26, though corrected by Koeppel, is repeated by Hamish Miles.

2. Sturel, *Op. cit.*, 3 ff., and Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 27 ff.

3. Painter closely follows Boaistuau, but he prefixes to his translation an introduction in which he learnedly demonstrates that the events he is going to relate have no foundation in historical fact. After which he goes on : "Yet the grace of the historie for all those errours is not diminished. Whereof I thoughte good to give this advisement : and waying with my selfe that by the publishing hereof no dishonour can dedoune to the illustre race of our noble kinges and Princes, ne yet to the blemishinge of the fame of that noble kinge, eternized for his victories and vertues in the auncient Annales, Chronicles and Monuments, forren and domesticall, (because all nature's children be thral and subjecte to the infirmities of their first parentes), I do with submission humble referre the same to the judgement and correction of them, to whom it shall appartaine". (Jacobs, I, 336).

and she resolved not to appear any more at his Palace. He wrote to her and met with no better success. Then he sent for the Earl of Warwick and, after eliciting from him a declaration of his willingness to oblige him in anything, begged him to help him obtain his daughter's love. The Earl was greatly disturbed and could not forbear from expatiating upon the dishonest character of his sovereign's request. Yet he promised to do as he was asked, remarking at the same time, however, that though he could advise his daughter he could not compel her. Now the young Countess was adamant in her refusal to do anything contrary to her honour, so that her father had to report to the King the failure of his efforts, and deemed it advisable to retire upon his estate in the country. Meanwhile the two Countesses stayed on in London, and the King found himself so engrossed by his unrequited passion that he suffered a strange alteration in both mind and body. Till the Courtiers began to murmur at the Countess's obduracy, and advised their sovereign to take by force, where he could command, what she would not grant with a good will. Before listening to them, however, he invoked the Countess of Warwick's assistance to win her daughter's compliance with his wishes. This the Dowager Lady granted to him with alacrity. But the Countess of Salisbury was as firm in her denial as ever, and thereby she threw her mother into a swoon. Which perceiving, she undertook to go to the King in person. She threw herself at his feet and, drawing a dagger from under her clothes, begged from him, as he loved her, the favour of suffering death at his hands rather than dishonour. At last the King was moved by so much constancy and, raising her from the ground, declared himself ready to marry her in lawful wedlock. This time she gave a joyful consent.

Bandello's name has also been mentioned in connection with some other novels, not derived directly from him or indirectly from Boastuau or Belleforest, which Painter included in his first volume. In some cases this seems to arise from a mere misconception and there is nothing, or hardly anything, in common between the stories thus brought together¹. At other times there is indeed

1. Haslewood, I, p. 24, animadvertes upon the similarity of Painter, I, 57 : "A strange punishment of adulterie", from *Heptaméron*, 32, with Bandello, III, 18 : "Rosimonda fa ammazzare il marito e poi se stessa e il secondo marito avvelena, accecata da disordinato appetito", (Belleforest, hist. 73, A. D. 1570). In both novels indeed, though in widely different circumstances, a lady is made to drink

some similarity of theme between them. But in all instances Painter follows his models so closely that all possibility is excluded of his having resorted to Bandello's versions, either in the Italian text or in the French translation ¹.

out of a skull turned into a cup. But otherwise they have nothing in common. — Jacobs has a query (I, p. lxxviii) whether the origin of this same novel of Painter's is not Bandello, II, 10 : "Piacevoli beffe d'un pittor veronese fatte al conte di Cariati, al Bembo e ad altri, con faceti ragionamenti" (not translated by Belleforest), and he further draws a parallel between it and Bandello III, 15 : "Morte miserabile del re Carlo di Navarra per soverchia libidine ne la sua vecchiezza" (not translated by Belleforest either). In reality they are totally different.

1. Of Painter, I, 48 : "A Duke of Venice and Ricciardo", which is a translation from Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Pecorone*, IX, 1, both Haslewood (I, p. 23) and Jacobs (I, p. lxxvii) notice that it bears some likeness to Bandello, I, 25 : "Mirabile astuzia usata da un ladro rubando ed ingannando il re de l'Egitto" (Belleforest, hist. 56, A.D. 1570). It does indeed, but whereas Bandello's novel is a translation from Herodotus (cf. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 55), Ser Giovanni's is a very free adaptation of the same narrative, from which it presents, and from Bandello's, considerable variations that are all repeated in Painter. — The same critics are right again in detecting some kinship (*loc. cit.*) between Painter, I, 49 : "Philenio Sisternio, a Scholler of Bologna, being mocked of three faire Gentlewomen, at a banquet made of set purpose he was revenged of them all", from Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti*, II, 2, and Bandello, I, 3 : "Beffa d'una donna ad un gentiluomo ed il cambio che egli ne le rende in doppio" (not translated by Belleforest). But though the injury and the revenge are of a similar character, one lady only is the victim of the latter in Bandello, as against three in Straparola and Painter. — Painter, I, 50 : "The piteous and chaste death of one of the muleters wives of the Queene of Navarre", is from *Heptaméron*, 2, and about this French novel Mr. Pierre Jourda writes : « On est frappé de la similitude de thèmes que l'on trouve entre plusieurs nouvelles du début de l'*Heptaméron* et tels passages de Bandello. Marguerite, dans son second récit, exalte la vertu d'une muletière qui se laisse tuer pour ne pas être violée, Bandello (1^{re} partie, nouvelle 8) peint le courage d'une jeune fille qui, outragée, se tue pour ne pas survivre à son déshonneur » (*Marguerite d'Angoulême*, Paris, 1930, p. 711). But the likeness is only of a general kind, and there are considerable differences : the French heroine avoids being deflowered, and is stabbed to death by her would-be ravisher ; in Bandello's novel (translated by Belleforest as hist. 25, vol. II, A.D. 1565) Giulia da Gazuolo throws herself into a river, where she dies by drowning, after being violated. Indeed Letterio di Francia never mentions the *Heptaméron* in his discussion of the source of this novel of Bandello's, which he finds in the *Cortegiano* (*Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 10). — Haslewood (I, p. 23), Jacobs (I, lxxvii), Letterio di Francia (*loc. cit.*, LXXX, 45) and Jourda (pp. 711-12) all agree in pointing out the similitude between *Heptaméron*, 3, the model of Painter, I, 51 : "A King of Naples, abusing a Gentleman's wife, in the end did weare the hornes himselfe", and Bandello, IV, 10 : "Francesco da Carrara signore di Padoa si innamorà di una sua cittadina e la gode. La moglie di Francesco se ne avede e il dice al marito de la innamorata del signore e, con lui accordata, amorosamente si godeno". But this novel of Bandello was not published till 1573. — According to both Letterio di Francia (*loc. cit.*, LXXX, 39) and Jourda (722) Bandello, I, 39 : "Filippo duca di Borgogna si mette fuor di proposito a grandissimo periglio" (not translated

III

He was to attribute to Bandello an even larger share of his second volume than of the first. *The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure, conteyning store of goodly Histories, Tragically matters, and other Morall argument, very requisite for delight and profit. Chosen and selected out of divers good and commendable Authors : By William Painter, Clerke of the Ordinance and Armarie*, was "Imprinted at London, by Henry Bynneman for Nicholas Englande Anno M. D.LXVII. Novembris 8". It is dedicated "To the Right Worshipful Sir George Howard Knight, Maister of the Quene's Majestie's Armarie", in an Epistle dated "From my pore house besides the Tower of London, the iiij. of November, 1567". It included thirty four novels, to which a thirty fifth (now n^o 34) was added in the second edition. Its general make-up is the same as that of its forerunner. The first fifteen novels deal with classical

by Belleforest) is derived from *Heptaméron*, 17, out of which is translated Painter, I, 55 : "One of the Frenche Kinges called Frauncis the firste of that name, declared his gentle nature to Counte Guillaume, that would have killed him". Yet there are between the Italian and the French novels some important differences, fully recognised by the Italian critic when he writes : "Anche qui abbiamo un altro caso di contaminazione di elementi eterogenei, tratti da due opere affatto diverse : l'*Heptaméron* e gli *Annales*" (i.e. Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*). Now Painter does not vary one jot from his French model. — As well as *Heptaméron*, 32, the source of Painter, I, 57 (see preceding note), Bandello, II, 12, deals with the hard punishment of an adulterous wife (cf. Jourda, 716). But this novel of Bandello is no other than that, dealing with a Lady of Turin, which Painter had already translated, I, 43, through Boastuau, 4. — Finally, when dealing with Painter, I, 58 : "A President of Grenoble, advertised of the ill government of his wife, took such order, that his honestie was not diminished, and yet revenged the facte", from *Heptaméron*, 36, Jacobs (I, p. lxxix) had instanced Bandello, I, 35 : "Nuovo modo di castigar la moglie ritrovato da un gentiluomo veneziano" (not translated by Belleforest) as being parallel to it. From this Koeppel had demurred (*Op. cit.*, 7, n. 1 : "Diese Novelle handelt allerdings auch von der Bestrafung einer zuchtlosen Gattin, aber die Nebenumstände sind ganz verschieden"). Indeed Bandello, I, 35, rather bears a likeness to *Heptaméron*, 35 (cf. Letterio di Francia, *loc. cit.*, LXXX, 37, and Jourda, 716). If there is a parallel in Bandello to *Heptaméron*, 36, it is rather, as Koeppel has also remarked, I, 11 : "Un senatore, trovando la moglie in adulterio, fa l'adultero fuggire e salva il suo onore insieme con quello de la moglie" (not translated by Belleforest either). This is confirmed by both Letterio di Francia, *loc. cit.*, LXXX, 34 and Jourda, 717. At the same time the former points out that Bandello's tale diverges in some respects from that of the French Queen. Whereas here again Painter follows her line for line and almost word for word.

characters, while the remaining nineteen record modern or contemporary events, and Painter shows the same anxiety to season his tragical stories with some of a merrier and more cheerful character¹. Yet one notices some differences. Whereas in the first volume two only of the classical tales were not derived from ancient authors, in this one Painter took a modern writer for his source in eleven out of fifteen cases². Among these modern writers, Bandello is represented by five stories, and from him also Painter took twelve out of the nineteen modern tales, six of the remaining batch being translated from Boccaccio, and one from an obscure writer of whom more anon³. The former Bishop of Agen receives indeed the lion's share in this volume⁴. Yet Painter held in reserve more stories from the same source as well as from sundry others. For he writes at the end of his volume: "And bicause sodaynly (contrary to expectation) this Volume is risen to greater heape of leaves, I doe omit for this present time sundry Novels of mery devise, reserving the same to be joyned with the rest of an other part, wherein shall succede the remnaunt of Bandello, specially sutch (suffrable) as the learned French man François de Belleforrest hath selected, and the choysest done in the Italian. Some also out of Erizzo, Ser Giovanni Florentino, Parabosco, Cynthio, Straparole, Sansovino, and the best liked out of the Queene of Navarre, and other Authors "⁵.

1. Thus he writes at the end of novel 9: "And for so much as for the most part hitherto we have intreated of many Tragical and bloody chaunces, respyring now from those, let us a little touch some medicinable remedies for love, some lessons for government and obedience, some treaties of amorous Dames, and hauty Gestes of Prynces, Queenes and other persons, to variate the chaungeable diet, wherewyth dyvers bee affected, rellishinge their Stomackes wyth some more pleasaunt Digestions than they have tasted". (Jacobs, II, 259); and there is a similar pronouncement in the "Conclusion, with an Advertisement to the Reader", in which the publication of a third volume is forecast: "Divers Tragical shewes by the pennes description have bene disclosed in greatest number of these Hystories, the same also I have mollified and sweetened with the course of pleasaunt matters, of purpose not to dampe the deynty mindes of those that shrink and feare at such rehearsall. And bicause sodaynly (contrary to expectation) this Volume is risen to greater heape of leaves, I doe omit for this present time sundry Novels of mery devise, reserving the same to be joyned with the rest of an other part". (Jacobs, III, 431-32).

2. At least according to the reckoning of Bush: *The classical tales in Painter's Palace of Pleasure*.

3. See below, p. 52.

4. The novels taken from him occupy 488 out of 700 pages in Jacobs's reprint.

5. Jacobs, III, 432. This third volume was not to see the light. Perhaps

The words used by Painter when speaking of Bandello in this passage are worthy of notice, for they imply that for some of the stories from this writer yet to be published he might go straight to the Italian original. This he had done once already in his first volume, in the case of a novel of which no French translation was available. Now he had at his disposal eighteen more stories from Bandello in French, for Belleforest had published in 1565 *Le second Tome des Histoires Tragiques*¹, and of this fresh set he availed himself as well as of the first. But he also translated directly from the Italian seven novels which had not yet appeared in Belleforest. When a French version was accessible, he used it. But he was not so dependent upon this French intermediary that he could not lift directly out of the Italian such tales as had struck his fancy.

This is what he does in the case of the five classical tales out of Bandello. Here again he follows his model closely, and yet not so closely as not to add a little here and there to the original, a thing that he hardly ever does when he is translating from the French. The first one (II, 4) is from Bandello, I, 2,². It relates how "Ariobarzanes great steward to Artaxerxes king of Persia, goeth about to exceede his soveraigne lord and maister in curtesie". So much so that the King, being annoyed at this subject who seems to aim at laying him under an obligation, takes his office away from him and banishes him upon his estate in the country. There Ariobarzanes lives with his two daughters, both of whom were renowned for great beauties. Now Artaxerxes orders him to send the more beautiful to him. He should have sent the elder, but he despatches the younger, enjoining upon her not to reveal that she is not so well-favoured as her sister. Artaxerxes marries her and Ariobarzanes, as magnificent as ever, settles upon her the sum that he had meant for a dowry to both his daughters. But when she finds herself pregnant she confesses to her husband the

the tales added by Painter to his first volume in 1575, which are all from the *Hepiaméron*, are among those which he originally meant to include in the continuation of his work.

1. Paris, 1565, Vincent Norment et Jeanne Bruneau. There is a copy, apparently unique, in the British Museum Library. Cf. R. Pruvost, *Les deux premiers tomes de la version française de Bandello*.

2. This was translated by Belleforest in his fourth volume, 1570, where it is hist. 55 (not 53, as Koepfel has it). For a possible source cf. Fresco, *M. Bandello e le sue novelle*, 29.

greater beauty of her sister, Artaxerxes sends her back to Ariobarzanes, at the same time requesting the presence of the elder daughter at his court. This one goes only after her sister has been delivered of a son, and Artaxerxes makes her his daughter-in-law. Whereupon her father presents her with an enormous sum as a dowry, sending to the King at the same time his little son in a most sumptuous cradle. Not to be outdone by him in courtesy, Artaxerxes gives his former steward his own daughter to wife. But Ariobarzanes returns her dowry to the King and settles upon her a sum twice as great. He goes on acting as if he would raise himself above the King, and this, tending to sap the authority of the sovereign, is looked upon as tantamount to high treason. So he is brought to judgement and sentenced to death. But just as the executioner is lifting his sword over him, Artaxerxes addresses him in these terms : "If nowe thou wilt acknowledge thy selfe vanquished and overcome, and accepte thy lyfe in gratefull part, I will pardon thee, and restore thee to thyne offyces and promotions". Ariobarzanes explains that he never meant to abase the King. All that he has done proceeded from his great love for him. Yet he sees that the way in which he manifested his attachment was ill-considered and liable to misconstruction, and promises to be more careful in the future. Whereupon the King not only grants him a reprieve and reinstates him in his former possessions, but also heaps fresh charges and dignities upon him.

In the translator's own words, this story "tellethe the duty of a subject to his Prince : and how he ought not to contende with his soverayn in matters of curtesy" ¹. The next one, entitled Aristotimus the Tyrant (II, 5, from Bandello, III, 5) ², "disgarboyleth the intralles of Tiranny, describing the end whereunto Tirants do attein and how that vice plagueth their posterity" ³. It had been taken by Bandello from the *Moralia* of Plutarch ⁴, where it was meant to extoll the virtues of women. One of these virtuous ladies is Micca, a young lady of Elis who suffered death rather than submit to the lust of Lucius. He was one of the satellites of Aristotimus, and not only did the tyrant not punish him for

1. To the Reader, Jacobs, II, 155.

2. Not translated by Belleforest till 1570, vol. IV, hist. 69.

3. To the Reader, Jacobs, II, 155.

4. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 44.

slaying her, but he treated him with even greater show of affection than before and, when this caused the citizens to murmur, sentenced eight hundred of the malcontents to banishment. Their wives and children would have joined them, but as they were setting out with the tyrant's consent his soldiers charged upon them: a great many were killed and the remainder were sent to prison, the goods of all being confiscated. Whereupon the banished, thirsting for revenge, planted not far from the city a camp where they were joined by so many of their countrymen that Aristotimus began to grow anxious and, going to the jail, ordered the prisoners to send word to their husbands that they should desist from their enterprise. They stoutly refused, however, the lady Megistona boldly speaking out for the rest in words instinct with the true spirit of freedom, and this went a long way towards fanning into a flame the smouldering discontent of the citizens, which had been further intensified by the fact that Aristotimus had fined the priestesses of Bacchus for pleading with him in favour of the prisoners. They were finally emboldened to strike out by the fact that an eagle had dropped a large stone upon the palace of the tyrant, thus presaging, as it seemed to them, his forthcoming destruction, while things were made easier for them because, his own private soothsayer having flattered him with a favourable interpretation of this same omen, Aristotimus was less careful of his safety than before. When the signal was given, he fell an easy prey to the rebels, who invaded the tyrant's palace after setting Megistona and her companions free. His wife hanged herself rather than fall into the hands of the mob, and his two daughters, seized upon and sentenced to death, met their doom with praiseworthy fortitude.

The story of the unfortunate love and marriage of Massinissa and Sophonisba is well known from its having been related by Livy. Bandello, I, 41, which is the source of Painter, II, 7, is nothing more than an amplification of the Roman historian's narrative, full of speeches that are, in Letterio di Francia's judgment, "troppo prolissi e retorici"¹. With some occasional

1. *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 67. Belleforest's translation of Bandello's novel is to be found in his 3rd vol., 1568, hist. 43. Concerning Bandello's use, beside Livy, of Petrarch's *Africa*, see Mary Fowler, *Modern Language Notes*, XXXII (1917), 374-75; A. H. Krappe, *Modern Language Review*, XX (1925), 191-92; and Letterio di Francia, *Ibid.*, XXI (1926), 195-99.

heightening of the rhetorical colours, these speeches have all passed into Painter's pages. Cirta has just fallen into the hands of Massinissa when Sophonisba addresses him a long prayer designed to move his pity, and the African warrior, in whose breast her beauty and tears have kindled an irresistible passion, no less eloquently offers marriage to her and undertakes not to deliver her to the Romans. Some time later, Scipio launches before his ally upon a long discourse in praise of continency and, feigning to be ignorant of his marriage, claims Sophonisba as a captive belonging to the Roman people. Whereupon Massinissa breaks into a long, impassioned soliloquy at the end of which, after rejecting flight with Sophonisba as impossible, he sends up to her a cup of poison, together with ardent protestations of his love. Finally, Sophonisba having done away with herself, Scipio praises Massinissa in a sedate harangue brimming over with moral saws.

The rhetoric so conspicuous in this novel is far more subdued in the next two pieces translated from Bandello. The first hardly deserves the name of a novel at all. "A Gentlewoman of Hidrusa" (II, 9) comes from Bandello I, 56,¹. The Italian novel is entitled: "Strana e meravigliosa usanza che era anticamente in Idrusa ove a ciascuno era lecito senza punizione del magistrato levarsi la vita. Degli orti de l'isola Samo ed altre". Painter remains content with translating the first part. The interest chiefly lies in an exchange of brief speeches, adapted by Bandello from Valerius Maximus², between Pompey and a gentlewoman of Hidrusa who had announced her intention of committing suicide. She was happy in the possession of riches and the esteem of her contemporaries, and Pompey endeavours to turn her from her resolve. But she answers that, knowing the mutability of Fortune, she had rather die while she is favoured with her gifts than run the risk of a miserable old age.

It is quite exceptional that Painter should extract from Bandello such pieces of pure moralization. His "Faustina the Empresse" (II, 10, from Bandello I, 36) is more according to standard, as it were, in that it involves some sentimental element. At least of a kind, for it records a strange cure indeed, for an infatuation. At a time when Faustina was in peril of her life because of the

1. The French translation is hist. 67 in Belleforest's 4th vol., 1570.

2. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 84.

ardent love which she bore to a gladiator, she was restored to health, and delivered of her obsession, through Marcus Aurelius lying with her after having the gladiator slain, and the body of the Empress anointed with his blood¹.

"Anne the Queene of Hungarie" (II, 21, from Bandello I, 45)², the first of the modern characters whose doings Painter related with Bandello as his model, is quite a different sort of person and cuts a more truly romantic and sentimental figure. She was the wife of "Ferdinando Archduke of Autriche", and the sister of "Lewes" the King of Hungary. With her brother's wife Mary, she used often to hear mass in the cathedral church, and there Philippo di Nicuoli never failed to station himself in front of the two Queens, most dutifully to salute them, and most intently to gaze upon them. Till they realised that he must be in love with one of them, or with some lady in their train. But they did not know which, and greatly wished to be enlightened upon this point. One day that they were walking in a fair garden in which several gentlemen kept them company, Anne presented Philippo with some flowers and begged him to tell her, if he were to offer them, among the ladies there present, to her whom he loved most, which he would bestow them upon. Philippo most reverently gave the flowers back to her, at the same time praising her most highly. Though his rank was much inferior to hers she evinced no displeasure at this declaration of the gentleman's love, but ever afterwards showed

1. This Bandello had borrowed from Giulio Capitolino's *Vita Marci Antonini philosophi*; cf. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 66. The French translation is hist. 59 in Belleforest's 4th vol., as above.

2. The French translation is hist. 60 in Belleforest's 4th vol., as above. Bandello's source for this story does not seem to be known. — Painter, II, 19: "Mayster Gentil of Carisendi being come from Modena, tooke a woman out of hir grave that was buried for dead, who after she was come agayne, brought forth a Sonne, which mayster Gentil rendred afterwarde with the mother to mayster Nicholas Chasennemie her husband", translated from *Decameron*, X, 4, relates a story similar in some respects to Bandello, II, 41: "Uno di nascoso piglia l'innamorata per moglie e va a Barutti. Il padre de la giovane la vuol maritare: ella di dolore svenisce e per morta è seppellita. Quel di medesimo ritorna il vero marito e la cava de la sepoltura e s'accorge che non è morta, onde la cura e poi le nozze solenni celebra" (cf. Jacobs, I, lxxxvi), concerning which it is Letterio di Francia's opinion that: "La versione del B., mentre in alcuni punti subisce visibilmente l'influenza del *Decameron*, ed in altri si conforma secondo le avventure consimili di Giulietta e Romeo, per la struttura generale, più che ad ogni altro, si accosta alla nov. 8a di Ortensio Lando." (*Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 30). Painter closely follows Boccaccio, to the exclusion of any other.

him great courtesy. At church, she never failed to answer his reverence with a most obliging salute, an honour which she did not bestow on many a courtier of a higher rank. Seeing him, one day, among a group of gentlemen, she drew near, asked him his name, and upon his saying : "Madame, my sovereign Lady and only mistresse, I am a Gentleman, and am called by the name of Philippo dei Nicuoli, of Cremona", returned him this very flattering answer : "You say true sir, I dare warrant you to be a Gentleman in deede, and hee that sayd the contrary, should declare himself to be voyd of Judgement what a Gentleman is" ¹. It also happened that, the Queen wishing to read some of the most recent productions of the Italian poets, Philippo was happy enough to be able to procure her some. One in particular, that treated of love (the text is given), so narrowly answered his own case that the Queen believed him to be the author of it. After this she held him in still higher esteem, and was even more desirous than before of rewarding the various proofs of devoted attachment and dutiful service that he had given her. Her opportunity came at the death of Emperor Maximilian. Philippo was chosen as Ambassador to carry into Spain letters from the Queen to the future Charles V, to whom she praised him so highly that he made him one of his Secretaries.

With the next story (II, 22, from Bandello, II, 15, through Belleforest, 12), Painter once more resorts to the French translation of Bandello, from which he now borrows "The gentle and just act of Alexander de Medices Duke of Florence, upon a Gentleman whom he favoured, who having ravished the Daughter of a poore Myller, caused him to mary her, for the greater honour and celebration whereof, he appoynted hir a rich and honourable Dowry" ². Here we have, in the gentleman, an unruly, all-engrossing passion, of a sombre cast, bent upon satisfying itself at whatever cost, and not shrinking from doing violence and inflicting suffering for its gratification. Having become inflamed with the beauty of a miller's daughter, our courtier has her abducted from her father's house, and despite her tears compels her to submit to his will and

1. Jacobs, II, 395.

2. According to Letterio di Francia, the exact source of Bandello's narrative remains obscure (*Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 13). Fresco is of opinion that he may have known Doni's relation of the same incident (*Op. cit.*, 37). The slight modifications which Bandello's novel had undergone in the hands of Belleforest (cf. Sturel, *Op. cit.*, 63) are duly reproduced in Painter.

become his mistress. But the miller asks redress from the Prince, who under pretence of a hunting expedition goes and visits his courtier's country-seat, discovers the room in which the poor ravished maid is kept a close prisoner, and compels the nobleman to marry her. Thus the story ends happily, and seems to lead one by an easy stage from the subdued fervour and generous dispositions characteristic of the tale of Queen Anne of Hungary to the far darker atmosphere common to the next three, in which an amorous passion leads to an invariably tragic conclusion.

The story of the "Duchesse of Malfi" (II, 23, from Bandello, I, 26, through Belleforest, 19)¹ is that of a lady who, becoming a widow when she was still young and lusty, could ill bear the sudden deprivation of those pleasures of the flesh which she had tasted during her brief married life, and soon cast about for a successor to her husband. She found a likely one in her steward, Antonio Bologna and, though she had to lead him on to it, experienced no great difficulty in coaxing him into marriage. But through fear of the resentment of her first husband's brothers, one of whom was a Cardinal of the Church, at such a misalliance, their union was kept secret. The birth of a first child could be concealed. But not that of a second, with the result that the duchess found herself surrounded by spies of her brothers-in-law, and Antonio deemed it expedient to leave her for a time. He settled at Ancona, and his wife joined him soon after on her way back from Loretto, where she had pretended to go on a pilgrimage. Finding herself with child for the third time, she decided to make her marriage public. Thereupon most of her servants left her, and through the influence of her brothers-in-law she was expelled from Ancona with her husband. In the following months the unfortunate pair were driven from town after town. Finally, while making their way to Venice they were assailed by a party of ruffians. Antonio succeeded in making his escape with his eldest son. But the

1. Koeppl writes in this place, *Op. cit.*, 8, n. 2 : "Warum J(acobs) I, p. lxxxvii bei dieser Novelle und bei No 27, 29, 33, 35 Bandello als *Source and Origin* bezeichnet, Belleforest hingegen nur unter der Rubrik Parallels erwähnt, ist nicht ersichtlich. Painter hat aus Belleforest übersetzt". Hamish Miles is even more inaccurate than Jacobs. In his table of "the sources from which Painter may be presumed to have drawn" the tales in his 2nd vol., he is correct indeed, though unduly vague, in his references to Belleforest in connection with II, 24, and to Boastuau in connection with II, 25, but for the rest he never mentions the French translators at all.

miserable Duchess was seized upon and escorted back to her castle, where she was put to death with her two younger children and her faithful maid. Antonio himself was some time later murdered by a swashbuckler in the pay of the vindictive and unforgiving cardinal.

Though she was not entirely blameless, the Duchess of Malfi perhaps deserves the reader's pity more than his censure. Not so Bianca Maria, the future "Countesse of Celant" (II, 24, from *Bandello*, I, 4 through *Belleforest*, 20)¹. The daughter of a rich usurer, she was married in the first instance to a certain Count Hermes, who kept her under such narrow watch that during the six years of her married life her conduct was perforce unexceptionable. Coming back after her husband's death to her native town of Casal in Piedmont, she soon attracted universal notice by the extravagance of her dresses, the thickness of her face-painting, and the complete lack of reserve in her behaviour. She was nevertheless sued in marriage by two noblemen, of whom she preferred the Count of Celant, just after giving the other what was tantamount to a definite promise of her hand, simply because he had told her that in his opinion such husbands were mistaken who restricted their wives within strict bounds. But he was soon to find out that his newly wedded wife could not be trusted to make good use of freedom, and up away in his native land of Savoy he treated her accordingly. She was voluble in her complainings, and harrassed him into leaving his country-seat for Casal. Once there, she realised the goods she had inherited from her father and, deserting her husband, made her escape to Pavia. There she was to appear in her true colours. She first took Ardizzino Valperga, Count Massino, for a lover. Then she forsook him for a friend of his, Roberto Sanseverino, Count Gaiazzo, without being able to plead that she had yielded to his importunities, for she it was who, without any provocation on his part, made him an offer of her person. As Massino publicly gave her, after this, the character she deserved, she urged Gaiazzo to murder him. He did not show any active sign of his readiness to comply, however, and so she reinstated Massino in her favour and tried to coax him into murdering Gaiazzo. There she met with no better success. Massino on the contrary informed his friend of the danger that threatened him.

1. For the historical groundwork of this novel, cf. Fresco, *Op. cit.*, 30, and F. Neri, "La Contessa di Challant", *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, XCVIII (1931), 225-254.

The other confided to him that he also had been exposed to the same danger at the time of his estrangement from the Countess, the upshot of it all being that both friends resolved to have nothing more to do with such a fiend. But she was not so easily to be balked of her vengeance. She now entrapped a young Sicilian Lord, Pietro de Cardone by name, and begged him to punish the Lords Massino and Gaiazzo, who went about slandering her and sullyng her reputation. He proved more pliant than his predecessors, and slew Massino in a midnight ambush. He was taken by the watch, however, and confessed everything. The Countess was put under arrest and sentenced to death. Before going to her doom, she delivered a long speech in which she expressed repentance for her misdeeds and begged the forgiveness of those whom she had offended.

For such a bloodthirsty strumpet all right-minded people could have no feeling but of detestation. Or perhaps, to keep within the bounds of critical terminology, it should be said that of the two passions usually worked upon by tragedy her story was meant to move terror, but not pity. An element of terror there was also in the picture of the unrelenting hatred which hunted down to their final destruction the Duchess of Malfi and her unfortunate husband. But at the same time one could not help pitying the victims of this vindictiveness, even though they had not been entirely blameless and their love had not possessed the ideal glamour which one associates with a passion free from all taint of grossness. This quality undeniably belongs to the youthful love of Romeo and Juliet (II, 25, from Bandello, II, 9, through Boaistuau, 3), and though the circumstances of their death are well calculated to strike terror, they only serve to heighten the pity of the final destruction of these two impassioned children.

Here indeed one seems to be nearing the apex of genuine tragedy, and Painter must have thought that the time had come for bringing in some relief. In a story for which he once more goes directly to Bandello (II, 26, from Bandello, I, 15)¹ he now asks his readers to admire the ingenuity of the device resorted to by "two Gentlewomen of Venice", with most satisfactory results for all

1. The French translation of this novel is hist. 37 in Belleforest's third vol., 1568. For Bandello's sources cf. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 51.

concerned, in order to preserve their own and their husbands' honour. In spite of the bitter enmity between the two gentlemen whom they had married, these two ladies, great friends from their childhood, often exchanged confidences over the hedge that divided their back gardens. Thus they discovered that their husbands were each trying to win the love of his neighbour's wife, and contrived such a plot that, though in his neighbour's bed, neither of the gentlemen ever held in his arms any other than his lawful wedded wife. But one night they were disturbed by the police as they were taking their supposedly illicit pleasures. Just in front of their houses, the watch had found in the street the body of a man grievously wounded, no less a person than Aloisio Foscari, the nephew of the Duke, and they proceeded to search the two gentlemen's houses. Each one of the ladies succeeded in returning to her room without attracting any notice, but the gentlemen, being found half-naked out of their own houses, were put under arrest. The sense of what they conceived to be their common misfortune brought about a reconciliation between them, and prompted them to accuse themselves of having attempted an assassination of the Duke's nephew. Aloisio for his part pretended to have got his wounds by falling from a rope-ladder while endeavouring to break into the house of a young widow, Gismonda by name, in order to rob her of her treasures. The Duke was very much perplexed by these contradictory statements, and especially by the fact that the rope-ladder which his nephew said he had used in his burglarious expedition had not been found. At last the two ladies resolved to explain how it was that each one of their husbands had happened to be in his neighbour's house, in circumstances that not only had nothing to do with any attempt upon Aloisio's life, but that also left their conjugal felicity unimpaired while highly redounding to the credit of their wives. At the same time, producing the rope-ladder and their letters as confirmatory evidence, Gismonda confessed that Aloisio, when he had fallen into the street, was looking for no other treasure than her sweet self. Thus everything was made clear. And not only did Aloisio marry his Gismonda, but the two gentlemen lived henceforth in amity and showed themselves fonder of their wives than they had ever been.

For the modern reader the main interest of this novel lies in the unrayelling of the imbroglio. Yet Painter had written of it that

it shows "the wisdom and pollicy of Wives to chastice and refrain the follies of husbands, and the stoutnes they ought to use in their defense" ¹. In his mind, no doubt, it made one in a series designed to exemplify "the properties" of women. The next three stories belong to the same category.

Zilia was a "fayre younge Widow" in whose complexion there was a touch of miserliness (The Lord of Virle, II, 27, from Bandello, III, 17, through Belleforest, 13) ². But the most noticeable trait in her character was a prudery so excessive that it turned her virtuous disposition into a blemish. It made her unduly harsh to Philiberto, the Lord of Virle, a worthy gentleman whom she seemed to hate for no other reason than because he loved her. Her obstinacy in denying him the favour of a gracious look or word at last threw him into a melancholy fit that caused his friends to fear for his life. Still she was at last prevailed upon to receive him in her own house. But when he made her a declaration of his love and begged for a single kiss from her, she granted him his request on the condition that he should promise to perform whatever she required from him, and thereupon enjoined him to remain dumb for the space of three years. He had given his word and he kept it, but he left Italy and took service with the French King, winning golden opinions from all for his bravery in the field. There he had been more than two years when the King offered a reward of 10,000 francs to whoever could cure him of his dumbness, with the proviso that, should the cure not be effected within a fortnight, those who undertook it would have to pay the like sum or forfeit their life. Now Zilia thought that it would be an easy matter for her to win a handsome sum of money, and she repaired to the French court. She would have absolved the Lord of Virle of his promise, but now he had her in his power. Though for fear of the forfeit she made herself wholly his, he remained speechless till the fortnight's delay was expired, and Zilia was led away to prison. At this juncture however, thinking that he had wreaked a sufficient revenge upon her, he went and related his whole story to the King, at the same time begging for the lady's release. To this the King acceded with pleasure, and after Zilia and the Lord

1. To the Reader, Jacobs, II, 156.

2. See Sturel, *Op. cit.*, 69 and 90-92, for some slight changes which Bandello's narrative was made to undergo at the hands of Belleforest.

of Virle had lived some time together as lovers she went back to her native Piedmont, a wiser but a sadder woman.

Barbara, the wife of the Bohemian knight Ulrico (A Lady of Boeme, II, 28, directly translated from Bandello, I, 21), is no less chaste than Zilia, but she is so secure in her honesty that she is preserved from the harshness and cruelty that make the other so unpleasant, and can throw a touch of wit and good humour in her defence of it. Her story is well known from its having been made by Alfred de Musset the subject of his *Barberine*¹. But whereas in the French play one would-be seducer only is made a captive of by the Lady and compelled to spin, in the novel she is made to triumph in the same manner over two successive enemies of her honour. And whereas in the play her husband has from the first full confidence in her honesty, it is not so in the novel. He brings himself to leave her and seek his fortune at the court of the King of Hungary only after a magician has given him a picture of his wife that will remain bright as long as she is faithful, tinge itself with yellow whenever her chastity is assailed, grow pale if she wavers, and turn all black if she yields to temptation, thus enabling him as it were to keep watch upon her from a distance². Now in the first months of his absence the portrait sometimes takes a yellowish tint, but it always resumes its former brightness, thus inspiring him with the confidence that leads to his proclaiming himself sure of his wife's honesty, and to the wager of the two knights who undertake to make her break her marriage vows, with their attempts and final confusion.

When viewed from a certain angle, the two foregoing stories might be looked upon as variations upon the theme of feminine honesty. Zilia it is true is somewhat too fond of money, and the most noticeable trait in her character is her perverseness. But it is due to an exaggerated sense of what is required from the care of her honour. The same excuse cannot be pleaded for Ginevra (Dom Diego and Ginevra, II, 29, from Bandello, I, 27, through Belleforest, 18)³, whose cruelty would rather seem to proceed from

1. For a discussion of the source of this story, which seems to have come originally from *La très élégante histoire de Perceforest*, and a full list of references, cf. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 52.

2. Hence the title of the play, *The Picture*, which Massinger based upon this novel.

3. Bandello's source is not discussed by Letterio di Francia. Sturel has shown,

pure wantonness and ingrained peevishness. Perhaps one cannot do much better than quote Painter's own summary of the story : "Dom Diego a Gentleman of Spayne fell in love with fayre Ginevra, and she with him : their love by meanes of one that envied Dom Diego his happy choyse, was by default of light credit on hir part interrupted. He constant of mynde, fell into despayre, and abandoninge all his frends and living, repayred to the Pyrene Mountaynes, where he led a savage lyfe for certayne moneths, and afterwarde knowne by one of hys freendes, was (by marveyulous Circumstaunce) reconciled to hys froward mistresse, and maryed". Yet a few words must be added to make the lady's character appear in its true light. The occasion for her estrangement from Dom Diego was a falcon, a splendid bird, given to him by a young lady-friend of Ginevra's who perhaps would not have been loth to win the young man from her. Being of a very courteous disposition, and a great lover of birds to boot, Dom Diego always went about with the falcon on his fist, and an ill-wisher took occasion of the fact to insinuate to Ginevra that she had been expelled from the first place in his heart by the giver of the bird. Henceforth, and though he made great protestations of his love to her and sent her the dead carcass of the falcon, she persistently refused to see him or talk to him. Several years later, she was taken back to him by Roderigo, who had discovered by chance his retreat in the mountains, but much against her will. For she had been waylaid and seized upon when in the act of eloping with a worthless fellow, her mother's steward. Brought into the presence of Dom Diego, she remains so harsh and unrelenting that he falls into a swooning fit, from which he recovers just in time to see Roderigo make ready to slay her as a punishment for her obstinate cruelty. She relents only after she has heard Dom Diego, in spite of all her harsh treatment of him, plead for her life in the most moving terms.

Dom Diego is a more sympathetic character than Ginevra, and a worthier. In the same way did the Lord of Virle deserve greater admiration as a man than Zilia as a woman. It looks as if Painter had meant to keep the balance equal between the sexes by relating the adventures of deserving representatives now of the one and

Op. cit., 69, that Belleforest suppressed some of the incidents with which Bandello had overloaded his plot.

now of the other. In "Salimbene and Angelica" (II, 30, from Bandello, I, 49, through Belleforest, 21) the conduct of the three protagonists, two gentlemen and a lady, is equally praiseworthy. When translating it from Bandello's Italian, Belleforest had somewhat abridged the denouement of this novel¹, and as usual Painter follows suit. Yet the story remains with them substantially the same as in Bandello or in the model whom Bandello in this case actually plagiarizes from, Bernardo Illicini, who had described it as an "opera dilettevole e nuova de gratitudine e liberalità"². The scene is laid in Sienna, where a feud had long divided the families of the Salimbene and the Montanini. The latter had lost much of their former splendour. Their two remaining representatives, Charles and his sister Angelica, were almost reduced to poverty. Because Charles refused to sell a portion of the very small estate that he was still possessed of, those who coveted it brought against him some trumped up charge for which he was sentenced to a fine of one thousand florins, which he was to pay within a fortnight or forfeit his life. By this means they hoped to compel him to alienate his land. But he would not deprive his sister of the smallest part of it, and things looked gloomy indeed, when he was informed by his jailer that the fine had been paid by a well-wisher of his, and that he was free to go home to his sister. The author of this kind deed was no other than his enemy Anselmo Salimbene. He had been absent from the town at the time of Charles's trial, and upon his return had resolved to release him. For in spite of the long-standing feud between their two families he was a great admirer of the lady Angelica, and harboured in his heart a tender feeling for her. When Charles heard to whom he owed his reprieve he was greatly perturbed in his mind, for he saw no way of repaying Salimbene his kindness. Yet he was well aware that he looked upon Angelica with favour, and determined to make him a present of her. At first, Angelica was very much distressed by this scheme and remonstrated with

1. Sturel, *Op. cit.*, 69.

2. "Il B. non fece altro che seguir passo passo una pubblicazione di Bernardo Illicini, uscita a Siena nel 1511, col titolo *Opera dilettevole e nuova de gratitudine e liberalità*. Ne repetè integralmente, non solo la sostanza, le considerazioni, i discorsi, ma anche i nomi dei personaggi, i caratteri, e spesso anche le frasi". Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 73. See also Fresco, *Op. cit.*, 36. — Jacobs's mistaken reference in this place to Bandello, I, 40, though corrected by Koepfel, has been reproduced by Hamish Miles:

her brother, in eloquent and moving terms, that her honour forbade her to yield her virtue and body to any one. Still when she perceived how much her refusal affected him, who felt himself in duty and honour bound to make some return for his enemy's kindness and had no other means of doing so, she agreed to his proposal, solemnly declaring at the same time, however, that she would kill herself rather than submit to any dishonourable treatment at the hands of Salimbene. But she had nothing to fear. Anselmo joyfully welcomed the gift of the fair maid, saying that he loved her so that nothing could have been more gratifying to him, but also that because of this same love he could not think of making himself the master of her person except in lawful wedlock. To this she gave a ready consent, and now the two families were happily reconciled amid general rejoicings.

Now Painter was drawing near the end of his volume, and in his four remaining stories he seems to have aimed chiefly at variety. Only two of these come from Bandello. Novel 31 is from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, VIII, 7. Relating how "A Wydow called Mistresse Helena, wyth whom a Scholler was in love, (shee loving an other) made the same Scholler to stande a whole Wynter's night in the Snow to wayte for hir, who afterwarde by a sleight and pollicie, caused hir in July to stand uppon a Tower starke naked among Flies and Gnats, and in the Sunne", this tale certainly aims at amusement rather than edification and, though the scholar's revenge is cruel enough, there is nothing tragic about it¹. Whatever Jacobs may have written to the contrary, novel 32 does not come from Bandello either. In Painter's own words, it relates how "A Gentlewoman and Wydow called Camiola of hir owne minde Raunsomed Roland the Kyng's Sonne of Sisilia, of purpose to have him to hir Husband, who when he was redeemed unkindly denied hir, agaynst whom very Eloquently she Inveyed, and although the Law proved him to be hir Husband, yet for his unkindnes, shee utterly refused him". Though not actually tragic, it is of a decidedly unpleasant cast and leaves a sour taste upon the palate, thus preparing the way for yet another tale in Bandello's most blood-curdling manner¹.

1. As Koepfel has shown, *Op. cit.*, 3, Jacobs was mistaken in his reference to *Decameron*, VIII, 8, as the source of Painter, II, 31.

2. Jacobs writes of this novel of Painter's that it is derived from Bandello, I, 35, and this statement is repeated by Hamish Miles. Its erroneous character is

The Lords of Nocera (II, 33, from Bandello, I, 55 through Belleforest, 23) were three brothers the eldest of whom, Nicholas, committed adultery with the wife of one of his officers, the Captain of the Citadel¹. When the injured husband found out how he was being wronged, although he said nothing he could not help letting it appear that his mind was troubled, and Nicholas deemed it more prudent to stay away from his paramour for a time. But the Captain succeeded in lulling his wife into a false sense of security, and she recalled her lover. At the same time her husband invited the three brothers to come and hunt a wild boar. Two only came, for the youngest was away at a wedding, and now the irate Captain savagely murdered them and hacked their mangled bodies into pieces. Pretending that he kept them prisoners, he would further have led the citizens into a rising against their Lords, and from the top of his wall he addressed them in a speech to this effect. But they would not be persuaded, and summoned him to set the prisoners free. He sought to gain time by promising to give his final answer to their request in a few days and, feeling in danger, made use of the delay to provide for his safety. He gathered his treasures together and entrusted them to two of his servants, with orders to take them to some secret place to which, if the need arose, he contemplated withdrawing with his family. But the servants went to Conrad, the youngest brother, and informed him of the true state of affairs. Conrad obtained from the Governor of the country a party of soldiers to march against the citadel. Before the assault was given, the Captain was invited to yield. From the top of his wall, again, he refused, revealing what wrong he had suffered and how he had revenged himself for it. There was nothing for it but to storm the citadel. With his own hand Conrad slew the Captain's father, also hacking his body to pieces. As for the Captain, who had taken refuge in his keep, he threw his wife down upon the rocks from the top of his tower before he

apparent from a mere reading of the title of Bandello's novel: "Nuovo modo di castigar la moglie ritrovato da un gentiluomo veneziano". It has also been duly noticed by Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 9, who did not find the story of Camiola in Bandello but, though reserving the possibility that Painter might have followed some fuller account of it which he had failed to discover, came across it in Baptista Campofolgiosus's *Exemplorum... Lib. IX*, Basilaë, August 1567.

1. For the sources of Bandello see Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 78.

could be secured. Of course he was put to death in his turn, his body being denied Christian burial and thrown to the wolves.

When he brought out a new edition of his second volume Painter inserted in this place an additional story, which he had translated, he said, "twenty two yeares past or thereabouts", out of the Latin of Nicholas Mossan. Relating "The horrible and cruell murder of Soltan Solymán, late the Emperor of the Turkes and father of Selym that now raigneth, done upon his eldest Sonne Mustapha, by the procurement and meanes of Rosa his mother in lawe, and by the speciall instigation of one of his noble men called Rustanus : where also is remembred the wilful death of one of his Scns named Giangir, for the grieffe he conceived to see Mustapha so miserably strangled", this story also is tragic, and it is a fitting companion to the foregoing. It was quite natural that it should come before the final novel of the volume (II, 34 in 1567, 35 in the 2nd edition). For this is of a totally different character.

This story of "The great curtesie of the Kyng of Marocco" comes from Bandello, I, 57, through Belleforest, 24. It tells how the King of Morocco, hunting in a marshy part of his dominions, came to be separated from his train and was surprised by nightfall without knowing where he was. Descrying a light in the distance, he made for it and reached the hut of a poor fisherman, who generously put his scanty resources at his disposal and, not knowing who he was, entertained him with talk instinct with feelings of the greatest loyalty to his sovereign. The next day, the fisherman escorted him out of the marshes and, when the King had been led back to his party, learned the identity of him who had been his guest overnight. For his courteous entertainment and loyalty he was to be richly rewarded, for the King caused the marshes to be drained, and raised upon the spot where they had stood a most beautiful city, which he made a present of to the fisherman¹.

Through a happy combination of didacticism and flattery thus did Painter end, upon an edifying note, with a lesson meet for all subjects of Elizabeth to take to heart, and with praise of kingly courtesy which the Queen might, if she so wished, apply to herself and read with gratification.

1. For the source of Bandello, again, see Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 85.

IV.

Painter's first volume went through fresh editions in 1569 and, this time with the addition of six novels from the *Heptaméron*, in 1575. His second volume was also reprinted once, with one additional novel, and it would be tempting to assign this reprint to the year 1575 also, but as no dated copy is known this remains pure conjecture¹. Though he was to live till 1596 he never published the third instalment, with more stories from Bandello, which he had promised in 1567.

He may have been turned from his purpose by the appearance of a new series of translations "from Bandello" which a contemporary of his had been at work upon at the very time when he was gathering his second volume together. This fresh volume, entitled *Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin by Geffraie Fenton, no lesse profitable than pleasaunt, and of like necessitye to al degrees that take pleasure in antiquities or forreine reapportes*, was "imprinted at London in Flete strete nere to Saint Dunstons Church by Thomas Marshe. Anno Domini 1567". It is dedicated "To the righte honorable and vertuous Ladie, the Ladye Marye Sidney" in an Epistle dated "At my chamber at Paris, xxii Junii, 1567", and thus seems to have been completed some months before Painter gave the final touch to his second volume². It is a collection of thirteen stories. Whatever the title-page may have claimed to the contrary, they all come from the French, and indeed Fenton himself, in his Epistle Dedicatory, is content with the statement that "(I) have bestowed some of my voyed howers, whilst I was in the other sides the Sea, in forcyng certeyne Tragicall Discourses oute of theyr French tearmes into our Englishe phrase"³.

1. When including in this second volume his novel entitled "A cruell facte of Soltan Solymán", Painter ushered it in with these words: "Twenty two yeares past or thereabouts I translated this present History out of the Latine tongue" (Jacobs, III, 395). Jacobs writes on the other hand that "A translation from the Latin account, by Nicholas Mossan, of the death of the Sultan Solymán was made by him in 1557" (I, xxx). If this date is correct we should perhaps assign the reissue of Painter's vol. II to 1579 at the earliest.

2. Its entry in the Stationers' Registers also comes a little earlier than that of Painter's vol. II (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 156).

3. Douglas, I, 6-7.

He did not add that the stories which he turned into English had first been related in Italian by Bandello. His friend George Turbervile lays it to his credit, however, in a prefatory piece of verse written "in praise of the translator of this booke", that :

Nowe men of meane skill, what Bandel wrought, maye vew,
And tell the tale in Englishe well that erste they never knewe ¹.
But Fenton nowhere betrays an acquaintance with the Italian form of his "Discourses". It may be that, if Painter translated most of his tales out of Bandello from the French as a matter of deliberate choice, it was through necessity that Fenton "forced" all his "oute of theyr French tearmes".

Like Painter, he avails himself of the first two volumes of the *Histoires Tragiques*, five of his thirteen "Discourses" coming from volume one, and the remaining eight from volume two. In no case, however, does he translate from the French of Boaistuau. Perhaps this is simply owing to the fact that, of the six tales translated by the worthy Breton, one had already been englished by Arthur Brooke, while the other five had been included by Painter in the first volume of his *Palace of Pleasure*. For none of the stories in this first volume finds itself repeated in Fenton's collection.

It is otherwise with the second volume of the *Palace of Pleasure*. Four of the stories translated from Bandello, through Belleforest, which Painter included in this volume were also selected by Fenton. It looks as if he had started work after the publication of Painter's first volume, and it is plain that both translators proceeded with their task independently of each other.

Nor did they go about it in quite the same way. While Painter styles his translations "histories" or "nouvelles" ², Fenton terms his "discourses", and this seems to point out to some difference in outlook, or at least to the fact that Fenton was ready to lay upon rhetorical developments an even greater emphasis than his contemporary. So he does indeed. It is not that Painter was averse from rhetoric, and the fact has been noticed already that at times he adds to his original some developments of a rhetorical character. But he does so sparsely, and with very few exceptions

1. Douglas, I, 14.

2. *Palace of Pleasure*, I, Epistle Dedicatory : "These histories (which by another terme I call Nouvelles)", Jacobs, I, 5.

only when translating straight from the Italian. There is usually enough rhetoric for his taste in the pages of Boastuau and Belleforest." Not so with Fenton. Rather than actual translations, his "Discourses" are rhetorical amplifications of Belleforest's "Histoires". He goes one better over him, and submits his text to a treatment not unlike that which Bandello's had been made to undergo at his hands.

Yet, as Sturel has shown, Belleforest also modified upon occasion some of the incidents in the novels that he was supposed to be translating. Fenton hardly ever does this. To use the phraseology of the school-room, Belleforest had in most cases related in his own words a story slightly different from that of his model. Painter had related the same story as much as possible in the same words. Fenton relates the same story again, but not by any means in the same words.

In his Epistle Dedicatory, Fenton lays stress upon the moral benefit to be derived from the perusal of his "Discourses". He admits that "at the firste sighte, theis discourses maye importe certeyne vanytyes or fonde practises in love", and indeed the romantic element looms very large in his pages. He dwells at such great length upon the various stages marking the birth and growth of love in the heart of his heroes, and the checkered progress of a love-suit with its alternatives of hope and despair, that the moral is in some danger of being thrown into the background by this romantic picture. But there is some measure of justice also in his claim that "I doubte not to bee absolved of suche intende (*i.e.* that of enticing young people to the vanities and "fonde practises in love") by the judgement of the indifferent sorte, seinge I have rather noted diversitie of examples in sondrye younge men and women, approvyng sufficentlye the inconvenience happenynge by the pursute of lycenceous desyer, then affected in anye sorte suche uncerteyne follies". It might be said indeed that Fenton so vividly depicts the effects of a violent passion that he often runs some risk of making it interesting to his readers by reason of its very violence, and that one suspects him of having been attracted to it by this very quality at least as much as by the lesson to be extracted from the ruin that it brought about. But against this it is only fair to set the fact that his lovers are more often miserable than happy, and that some at least of his stories might serve as texts to exemplify the dangers of too strong passions, even of

those that are not inherently evil. Of course, those that *are* evil lead to ruin, and in practically no story of his is vice finally triumphant. Besides, he always draws some moral by way of conclusion. Doubtless he was sincere, though perhaps to some extent the victim of self-delusion, when writing that he had selected his tales in such a way that he might "leave, to all degrees, an appetitt and honeste desyere to honor vertue and holde vice in due detestation"¹.

The moral of his first Discourse, at any rate, is unassailable. It is no other than the story of Salimbene and Angelica, which Painter had also translated (II, 30), and one may accept the validity of Fenton's claim that "the curtesie of an enemye on the behalfe of his adversarye, wythe a wounderfull lyberalitye in the other in retournynge the benefyt receyved, is heare set furthe in suche lyvelye coollers, that there seames to lacke nothyng for the ornament and decoracion of suche a woorke"².

The second Discourse (from Bandello, I, 33, through Belleforest, 22) relates: "The Long and Loyall Love betwene Lyvyo and Camylla, together with their lamentable death; the one dying of a passion of joye the first night he embraced his mystres in bedde; the other passed also the same way, as overcome wyth present sorow for the death of him whom she loved no lesse then herselfe". After long despairing of success, Livio finally wins the love of the fair Camilla, and the maid's father would not look upon their contemplated marriage with disfavour. Still he will not give a definitive consent before consulting Camilla's elder brother Claudio, who for the time being is away from home, and while waiting for his return the two lovers grow impatient and solemnly pledge their love to each other before witnesses. Now when Claudio comes back he shows himself opposed to their union, owing to some grudge which he bears to Livio. Yet they look upon their solemn betrothal as binding. With the complicity of a chamber-maid Livio is at night led into Camilla's room, and there it is that, instead of enjoying the happiness they looked forward to, they both meet death. When the next morning the chamber-maid finds their lifeless bodies upon the bed, she raises such a loud lament that Claudio rushes in. He no sooner realizes what has taken place

1. Douglas, I, 8.

2. Douglas, I, 9.

than he runs the maid through the body with his sword, a rash crime for which he is deservedly sentenced to death¹.

Fenton concludes with these words : "This was the miserable ende of the love and lif of the ii Sisennois ; whose death and discourse of amarous traffique, for that it doth not exceed the remembrance of our time, I have presented as a familiar example affore the eyes of our youth, to th'ende that every one, respecting the duty of his own indevor, may use the misery of this precedent as a paterne to prevent the like myschief in themselves. Wherin, also, as we may note that love is but a rage or humor of frantike follye, derived of ourselves, and converted to our owne harme by th'indiscrecion that is in us, so the nexte remedy to withstand that furye is to encounter him under th'enseigne of raison, and flee the occasions whyche weaken the mynde wythout travell and bringe the bodye in the ende to the theatrye of execution. Wee are also warned here to temper the delites wee possess with suche measure that, forgettynge the blyndenes of Livio, we maye eschewe the horreur of hys acte, with detestation of the folye he used in the glott of his unlawfull pleasure"². Sound advice to be sure. Yet the Elizabethan reader was probably more prone to pity Livio, and especially Camilla, than to censure them. Besides, it is a highly interesting love that is strong enough to produce such an excess of joy that human nature is unable to withstand the delicious agony of it. And Fenton had made it all the more interesting by dwelling at length upon the various pains that Livio had had to endure before winning Camilla's love. Seeing that he was melancholy, his sister Cornelia had asked him the reason for it, had undertaken to make his love known to Camilla, who was a great friend of hers, and, after an interview that had yielded no satisfactory result, had advised him to declare his passion in writing. But when the kind-hearted sister had brought her the letter, which she pretended to have found accidentally, Camilla had been so curt with her that the report of it had thrown Livio into a despairing illness. Through grief for his unhappy condition

1. According to Letterio di Francia; this novel of Bandello's "fa l'effetto d'una brutta e complicata deturpazione dello stupendo racconto boccaccesco di Girolamo e della Salvestra (*Dec.*, IV, 8)" ; *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXX, 18.

2. Douglas, I, 128.

his sister had also taken to her bed. Now Camilla was not so hard-hearted nor such an enemy of Livio as she had thought it fit to show herself for reasons of decorum, and though she did not mean to yield at the first assault she would have been sorry to lose him. So she went and visited his sister in her illness. Livio was in the next room: he recognised her voice and from the bed from which he was too weak to rise breathed out his love for her in an impassioned address in the midst of which he fell into a swoon. Both young girls rushed to him. Camilla was now convinced of the sincerity of his love, and that she ran no danger in returning it, and she brought him back to consciousness with her kisses. Perhaps he who had read all this was not likely to heed very much the moral thrown in at the end.

The heroes of Fenton's next two Discourses make no such sentimental appeal. In no 3, from Bandello, III, 52, through Belleforest, 9, we are told how "A Yong Lady in Mylan, after she had longe abused the vertue of her youthe and honour of maryage with an unlawfull haunte of divers yonge gentlemen, becoms an unnaturall morderer of the frute of her wombe, for that shee was forsaken of hym who gatt her wyth Chylde". This lady's name was Pandora. Her lover Parthenope had forsaken her, and married a virtuous young woman, after discovering that she was playing false to him and learning, through the obligingness of a friend, that she had had a great many lovers before taking up with him. Though she wrote to him to announce that he had made her big with child, and tried the force of black magic, she could not win him back. Hence she conceived a violent hatred of him and, as she could not reach him, resolved to wreak her vengeance upon the innocent fruit of their unlawful embraces. Here the reader is spared no detail, even of the most gruesome sort. He is given a full account of the beverages the virtue of which Pandora tries, unsuccessfully, in order to bring about a premature birth, and of all that she does finally, when driven to a state of blind fury by the failure of her previous attempts, in order to push and pull the puny infant out of her womb by main force. After which, taking hold of its feet, she smashes its head upon the wall, tears its body apart, plucks its heart out, bites it off into pieces, and gives what remains of the little corpse to her dog to eat.

Here is one of those stories which Painter deemed "so straunge and terrible as they be able to affright the stoutest", and one may

well wonder whether the taste for frenzied passions and deeds of horror that was about the same time to make Seneca one of the most popular authors with the Elizabethans does not account for the selection of this story by Fenton, whatever reason he may have given himself for his choice, at least as much as the wish to preach a sermon upon the evil effects of lechery and adultery. The more so as this lack of restraint in feelings or in action is characteristic of most of his next stories. In his 4th Discourse (from *Bandello*, I, 51, through *Belleforest*, 10), though we are spared the harrowing physical horrors of the foregoing and are presented with the portrait of a woman who remains as loving and meek, when having to suffer from the groundless jealous humour of her husband, as *Desdemona* will be in similar circumstances, the interest centres, to quote Fenton's own words in his *Epistle Dedicatory*, round "the fyttes and panges of a frantique man, incensed to synister conceites by the suggestion of frettynge jelouzye, forcyng hym to effectes of absolute desperation"¹. Driven away from his own country by the cruelties of the conquering Turk, this "*Albanoyse Capteine*" had taken refuge at Mantua, and there had fallen in love with the beautiful, virtuous young widow of one of his compatriots, a refugee like himself. Though averse from marrying again, she had finally yielded to the arguments of her brother in support of the Captain's suit and agreed to become his wife. She was happy at first, but soon her husband developed a jealous humour that made their life quite wretched. Yet she suffered it all without complaining. But one day, seeing that the Captain had grown even more gloomy than usual, she ventured to enquire of him the reason why. He had heard of the death of a former leader of his, so he told her, whom he had served faithfully, and now that he was no more life was a burden to him. She endeavoured to comfort him, representing that man must wait for the term of his days appointed by the Lord in His Wisdom. As for her, at any rate, she loved him so that, if he were to do away with himself, she could not endure a second widowhood, and felt sure that she would not survive him. Now the only thing that had kept him alive was a jealous fear lest some other man should enjoy his wife's beauty after his death. Her words made him see his way clear out of his difficulty, and on the very same

1. Douglas, I, 9.

night he furiously stabbed her, afterwards killing himself with a sort of devilish rapture.

From all such madness may the Lord deliver us! such is in effect Fenton's comment upon this story. Though he plainly derives some pleasure from the description of his hero's frenzy through all its various manifestations, he would perhaps have urged by way of vindication of his moral purpose that, in order to be effective, his picture of the evil effects of a jealous humour had to be drawn in the most lurid colours. But it seems that he would have been at greater pains to find a moral justification for his next story, which is in essence a *fabliau*.

Drawn from Bandello, I, 28, through Belleforest, 26, this fifth Discourse relates "Sondrye Perills, happening to a yonge Gentleman of Myllan in the poursewte of his Ladye". The Lady Plaudina¹ had just accepted Cornelio for her servant when the French became masters of Milan, and Cornelio had to flee to Mantua for his safety. There he remains faithful to Plaudina. She is no less true on her part, and soon she requests him to come to her at Milan, during an absence of her husband that she has skilfully managed to bring about². He hesitates because of the danger, discusses what it were best to do with his friend Delio, who dissuades him from going, but finally responds to the call of love. At Milan he is fortunate enough to escape his enemies and learn that Plaudina will wait for him at midnight on a certain day. But the lovers have not been together more than a few minutes when they are disturbed by a loud rap at the door. At the time when Cornelio was coming to his tryst, with sword in hand so as to be prepared against all emergencies, a citizen had been killed in some street affray just before Plaudina's door, and now the watch have come to search the house, for they have learned that an armed man has been seen to enter it immediately after the murder has been committed. Plaudina hides Cornelio up a chimney flue, where he finds a precarious perch upon an iron bar, and the watch go, after a long interval, without discovering the supposed murderer. Now our lovers hope to enjoy the fruition of their desires. But it was not yet to be, for the watch are scarcely out of the house when

1. In Bandello and in Belleforest the Lady's name is Camilla.

2. In Bandello and in Belleforest the Lady takes advantage of her husband's journey, but has done nothing to drive him away.

Plaudina's husband comes back home much sooner than he was expected. Beds are prepared for two of his servants, who lie down, with their weapons beside them, in the very room in which Cornelio is hiding. It looks as if he would have to stay all night up his flue. His deliverance will come from the watch. They have received fresh assurance that an armed man has entered the house soon after the murder, and are bent upon searching it again. This time they come upon the two sleeping servants and arrest them, taking their master also into custody. At last Cornelio will be able to step down from his perch and enjoy his Plaudina. He spends several happy days and nights in her company, as long as her husband is kept a prisoner. But the police inquiry establishes his innocence, and he is to be set free. Besides, Cornelio's enemies seem to have been apprised of his presence. Prudence bids him return to Mantua, where he will reflect upon the dangers he has gone through and, to the great satisfaction of his friend Delio, resolve to desist henceforward from all such enterprises.

To this Fenton adds, by way of conclusion, considerations upon the various sufferings, torments, dangers, and sins, such as adultery, inseparable from the love-passion. A moral which does not seem to sit with a very happy grace upon such a story. But it must be said that in his treatment, as we shall have occasion to show, Fenton has done much to turn it into something that is not a pure *fabliau*, and thus lessen the distance between his sermon and the text upon which he preached.

The next Discourse (no 6, from Bandello, II, 7, through Belleforest, 28) ¹ is not open to such an objection. In this story of "the Villennie of an Abbot in seeking to seduce a mayde by force, and her vertue in defendyng her honor against him and his companyons of treason", we have one of those "patternes of chastetye, and maydes so assured and constant in vertue, that they have not doubted rather to reappose a felicitye in the extreme panges of death then to fall by anye violent force into the daunger of the fleshelye ennemye to theyr honour", alluded to by Fenton in his Epistle Dedicatory ². The daughter of a Neapolitan goldsmith, Parolyna was so virtuously inclined that she never gave the slightest

1. The source of these four novels is not discussed by either Fresco or Letterio di Francia.

2. Douglas, I, 8.

encouragement to Gonsaldo, an abbot notorious for his dissipations, who paid her a most insistent court. Till at last he resolved, as persuasion was of no avail, to use force in order to compass his desire. His opportunity came one day that Parolyna was walking out in the country with her parents. With the help of some servants of his, he waylaid them close by a bridge. But Parolyna made a politic as well as a spirited defence. By pretending that her father alone had hitherto prevented her from effectively returning the love of Gonsaldo, she obtained possession of his sword in order, as she said, to suppress this obstacle, and immediately turned the weapon against her would-be ravisher, whom she grievously wounded in the face. Yet she found herself in danger of being overpowered by superior numbers, and in order to avoid dishonour jumped over the parapet of the bridge into the river. At this juncture, fortunately, strangers arrived upon the spot. Gonsaldo fled away, and thenceforth hid his shame and his scar in his abbey. Parolyna was rescued; her parents, who had been sorely wounded, were nursed back to health, and all lived happily and contentedly together.

Though a great deal of the space is taken up by an account of the feelings of the amorous abbot, the moral is unimpeachable. So it is in the story of the Countess of Celant, which Painter had already translated (II, 24), and which Fenton narrates in his turn, at much greater length but without any substantial alterations, in his 7th Discourse. As for the story of "Julya", who "drowneth herselfe, for that her bodye was abused by force" (Discourse 8, from Bandello, I, 8, through Belleforest, 25), it is a variation upon the theme of that of Parolyna. Briefly related at first by Castiglione in his *Cortegiano*¹, it had been considerably amplified, and altered in many details, by both Bandello and Belleforest. In the pages of Fenton, who follows Belleforest, Julia is a virtuous, beautiful young maiden with whose good looks a servant of "Loys Gonsaga" falls in love after meeting her at a dance. He sues her by word of mouth, tries the effect upon her, first of the enticing eloquence of an old go-between, next of rich presents, but finds her chastity adamant. So he decides upon doing her violence, an attempt in which he succeeds when meeting her, unattended by any company,

1. III, 47: cf. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, I.LXX, 10.

in a desert spot in the country. While her ravisher runs away the unfortunate girl goes back home, arrays herself in her most beautiful clothes and, unable to survive her defilement, drowns herself in the river Oglio.

With Discourse 9, consecrated to : "The Ympudent Love of the Lady of Chabrye wyth her procurer Tolonio, together wyth the detestable morders committed betwene theim" (from *Bandello*, II, 33, through *Belleforest*, 16), the theme is again akin to that of the history of the Countess of Celant¹. Burning with ardours that her husband was no longer young enough to quench, this lady behaved in such a way with Tolonio, her husband's agent, that she made herself his mistress and, one sin leading on to another, from an adulteress became a murderer. First her husband was done away with, and next, after each had reproached her with her too great familiarity with the man-of-law, who of course had a hand in all these crimes, her two sons. Yet the two culprits hardly felt safe. They were conscious of being hedged round with suspicion, and the lady wished to marry her lover. He consented in the hope of becoming possessed of her riches much more than through any real love that he bore her. But first he had to get his own wife out of the way. He suppressed her indeed, but the circumstances of her death, as he related them, looked so suspicious that a judicial inquest was ordered. Tolonio then owned up to his various crimes, and he was sentenced to death. As for the Lady, she had sought safety in flight. On the road, she was robbed of all she had by one of her servants, and when she reached Genoa she was fain to hire her services, as a governess for her daughters, to a lady who did not know who she really was. A hard fate to be sure, but much less severe than she deserved, though she made amends for her misdeeds by a heartfelt repentance².

As well as ladies who set greater store by honour than by life, Fenton had sought credit for presenting "an experience of wounderfull vertues in men ; who, albeit hadd power to use and commande the thinge they chieflye desyered, yet, bridlynge wythe maine hande, the humour of theyr inordinate luste, vanquished all mocions of sensualityte, and became maysters of theym selves,

1. The source, again, does not seem to be known.

2. For the way in which *Belleforest* had given a more decidedly moral turn to this novel than it had in *Bandello*, cf. *Sturel, Op. cit.*, 90, 93, 95.

by abstaynyng from that whereunto they felte provocation by nature"¹. This applies to his 10th Discourse, from Bandello, II, 26, through Belleforest, 34², the subject of which is summed up in these words: "Luchyn is Longe in Love wyth a Simple Mayde, whom he woeth and cannot wyn by any passion hee endureth. At last necessitie yeldeth her into his handes; when he doth not onely refuse to abuse her body, but also takes order to susteine her and supplie her wantes, no lesse amplie then if shee had bene his syster". Much the greater part is taken up with an account of the court unsuccessfully paid by Luchyn to Janiquetta. Despite all his wooing of her she rejects his suit and marries an honest mariner, when Luchyn flatters himself with the hope of better success: what the maiden has denied perhaps the married woman will grant. So he makes friends with the mariner and often visits his wife. He even goes on doing so after he has yielded to the persuasions of his friends and been married himself. All to no avail. But Janiquetta's husband happens to be taken by pirates, and the poor woman finds herself and her children confronted with starvation. With distress in her heart, out of pity for her unfortunate babes, she goes to Luchyn and resigns herself entirely to his will as the price of some food for her little ones. But he loves her too well to take an unfair advantage of her misfortune. Besides, he knows that she does not yield herself to him out of her free will, but under the compulsion of necessity. Such a gift he does not value. So he spares the unfortunate mother and generously relieves her and her children's wants.

Of course it was an easy matter for Fenton to draw the lesson from this tale as well as from the four that go before it. Though he also endeavours to fit his remaining three Discourses with a moral, he is not quite so successful in his attempt. Relating in his turn the story of Zilia and the Lord of Virle (Discourse II, cf. Painter, II, 27), he caps it with the following reflections: "Wherein maye be noted an experience of the dealing of Fortune, who kepes in stoare like punishment for all such as, reaposyng to much for them selves in their owne force, do defye that litle which they accompte to consiste in others; and, in respect of their owne power, do condemne (misprint for contemn?) the authoritye which other

1. Douglas, I, 8.

2. Source unknown.

men have. If a vaine glorye, and conceite of a chastetie invincible, had not deceived this ladye, or a desyer of covetous gaine blaie her eyes, it had bene harde to have judged her incontinnencie, whiche appeared both in her franke familiaritie towards the passioned knight, and also in gredie desyer to fyll her purse and carye awaye the praise from all other that undertoke th'enterprise. And yet, as you see, her gaine hath given a dishonest title to her name for ever..."¹ Which may be true so far as it goes, but seems rather far-fetched, and is certainly not what one would expect from a stern moralist. In spite of Zilia's fault, of her cupidity and of her harsh treatment of Philiberto, one rather fancies that such a one would have condemned the gentleman for depriving the lady of what she prized most, and enjoying her person out of lawful wedlock. Instead, the reader is invited to admire and sympathize with all that he does. To be sure he had great provocation. But this would be looked upon as sufficient justification only in a system of morals, inherited from the love-literature of the Middle Ages, which made it a sin for a lady not to return love for love, and sentenced cruel beauties to a harsh punishment². It would seem that here the moral issue as a Christian would have seen it has been blurred for Fenton through the interposition of another system of morals essentially romantic in character.

In the same way his Discourse 12 (from Bandello, I, 14 through Belleforest, 27) is quite romantic in its appeal³. The hero of this tale, a young Neapolitan named Antonio Perillo, had dissipated most of his goods in gambling when he fell in love with Carmosyna and applied to her father for her hand. Steady merchant that he was, Mynio would have no spendthrift for his son-in-law. His refusal had a sobering effect upon Perillo, and it inspired him with the wish to restore his fortune. He realised what he remained possessed of and turned merchant-adventurer. But he fell into the hands of pirates and was taken as a slave into Barbary. Now Myrio used every year to redeem some of the Christian prisoners of the pirates. In this way was Perillo set free. Upon his return

1. Douglas, II, 211-12.

2. See for an example the episode of Rosiphelee in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, IV, 1245-1504, and for a general account of various tales answering to the same inspiration, Neilson, *The Purgatory of cruel Beauties*.

3. Source unknown.

at Naples he was greatly altered. Carmosyna recognised him nevertheless. She was true to him, and with her nurse's help had gathered together a sum of money which she meant for his ransom. This she now gives to the young man to set him up in trade, and he makes such good use of it that he becomes wealthy again and obtains Mynio's consent to his marriage with his daughter. But they were not to enjoy their dearly bought happiness. On the evening of their wedding day they were killed in each other's arms by lightning. A most untoward chance indeed, for their conduct had been unexceptionable, and the reader can only feel pity for their sad fate. It is doubtful whether Fenton's contemporaries paid great heed to his conclusion that love is to be shunned because it leads the lascivious to the fruition of their desires, and involves the honest and true in ruin¹.

Nor does there seem any telling lesson, except perhaps the romantic one that ladies should not prove harsh towards those who love them truly, to be drawn from Fenton's Discourse 13, devoted to the fortunes of Dom Diego, his cruel treatment at the hands of Ginevra, and the final triumph of his constancy, a tale which is well known already from its having been translated by Painter, (II, 29).

V

Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* were reprinted in 1576 and in 1579². The immediate success of his collection, and of Painter's, is witnessed to by the onslaught directed against them by Roger Ascham in his *Scholemaster*, published in 1570, but written before 1568, the date of its author's death. Against them, do we say, for if some stories from the Italian had been trickling into England before, it was only with them that the current gathered sufficient force to be disquieting to the mind of such a hater of things Italianate as Ascham shows himself to have been³. "In our forefathers

1. Douglas, II, 234.

2. No copy of the 1576 edition seems to be known at present. It is mentioned by Lowndes, who also records the existence of the 1579 reprint.

3. Perhaps the earliest sixteenth century English translation of an Italian tale is novel 3 in *A C. mery talys*, 1525, from *Decameron*, VII, 7. Unless it had been preceded by William Walter's translations of the stories of "Guystarde and

tyme", Ascham laments, "fewe bookes were read in our tong, sayng certaine bookes of Chevalrie... : as one for example, *Morte Arthure* : the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye : In whiche booke those be counted the noblest Knightes, that do kill most men without any quarell, and commit fowlest advoulteres by sutlest shifts"... "And yet", he goes on, "ten *Morte Arthures* do not the tenth part of so much harme, as one of these bookes made in *Italie*, and translated in England... And that which is most to be lamented, and therefore more nedefull to be looked to, there be moe of these ungratious bookes set oute in Printe within these fewe monethes, than have bene sene in England many score yeare before". Indeed they are "sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles the soner to corrupt honest maners¹ : dedicated over boldlie to vertuous and honorable personages, the easielier to beguile simple and innocent wittes". Which moves the worthy Humanist and staunch Protestant to think that "it is pitie, that those, which have authoritie and charge, to allow and dissalow bookes to be printed, be no more circumspect herein, than they are"².

In spite of this Saturnine appeal to censorship, the work of translating from the Italian went on. Nothing very new or material, however, was henceforth to be added to the translations from Bandello. Between the years 1568 and 1576 especially, though several productions evince an interest in what he had written, only one new story is added to those that had previously been done into English. And this at the beginning of the period.

Sygysmonde" and of "Tytus and Gesyppus", which however may have been taken from Latin versions rather than directly from *Decameron*, VI, 1, and X, 8, (cf. Koeppl, *Op. cit.*, 80 and 84). A translation of the story of Titus and Gysippus is next included by Sir Thomas Elyot in his *Boke named the Governour*, 1531, (II, 12 ; but as to the real source of Elyot cf. Croft's reprint of the *Governour*, London, 1880, II, 132 ff., and Goode's "Sir Thomas Elyot's Titus and Gysippus", *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVII, 1922). Then come, in 1550 a metrical version of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus* ; in 1562 Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* and a new translation of *Titus and Gysippus* by Edward Lewicke ; in 1565 Peend's *Lord Mandozze* ; and in 1566 Peter Beverley's *Ariodanto and Jenevra*. This is all before Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, which also included, be it remembered, many Italian tales apart from those out of Bandello.

1. This would seem to point more particularly to the *Palace of Pleasure*.

2. *Scholemaster*, Mayor's ed., 134-136.

In the twelvemonth between July 22, 1569 and July 22, 1570, "Rychard Jonnes" took out a licence for printing "a history entituled *a strange petyfull novell Dyscoursynge of a noble Lorde and his lady with thayre tregicall ende of them and thayre ij cheldren executed by a blacke morryon*"¹. Thomas Warton remembered having seen a book with this title bearing the initials W.W.². But no copy is known at present, and surely the wording of the entry hardly justifies Collier's description of the work to which it refers as a ballad³. He was probably led on to it by the fact that there is a later ballad with a similar title⁴. The text has been preserved: it relates substantially the same story as is to be found in Bandello, III, 21, a translation of which had been included by Belleforest in his second volume, where it is hist. 31, and thus lends plausibility to Koepfel's surmise that the work licensed to Richard Jones was also a translation of this novel⁵. In Bandello and Belleforest the hero is a Moorish slave who cruelly revenges himself upon his master for having flogged him after some slight misdemeanour. While the master is away a-hunting, he comes upon his mistress and her three children in a tower surrounded by a deep ditch. Pulling up the drawbridge, he binds them hand and foot, commits

1. Arber's *Transcript*, I, 406.

2. *History of English Poetry*, LX.

3. J. P. Collier, *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, I, 211. According to Warton, there is an entry of the same work to Richard Jones "in 1586 (S. R., A, fol. 187 b.)". An evident mistake: In Register A, fol. 187 b, that is Arber's *Transcript*, I, 406, we find the 1569-1570 entry quoted above.

4. Collier quoted this title as: "A lamentable Ballad of the Tragical End of a Gallant Lord and of his Beautiful Lady, with the untimely death of their children, wickedly performed by a heathen Blackamore, their servant: The like seldom heard before". In *A Collection of Ballads*..... London, 1723-25, II, 152, it reads: "A Lamentable Ballad of the Tragical End of a Gallant Lord and Virtuous Lady: together with the untimely Death of their two Children; wickedly performed by a Heathenish and Blood-thirsty Black-a-Moor, their Servant, the like of which Cruelty and murder was never heard of before"; and in Ch. Hindley's *Roxburghe Ballads*, London, 1873-74, II, 389: "A Lamentable Ballad of the Tragical end of a Gallant Lord and a Vertuous Lady, with the untimely end of their two Children, wickedly performed by a Heathenish Blackamore their servant, the like never heard of". In the Stationers' Registers, there are entries corresponding to this ballad under dates of December 14, 1624, and March 1, 1675: nos 1234 and 2677 in Hyder E. Rollins's "Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London", *Studies in Philology*, XXI (1924).

5. Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 97. This "novel" has escaped the attention of Miss M. A. Scott. Fresco has pointed out that the same story is to be found in Pontano's *De Obedientia* (*Op. cit.*, 42).

brutal rape upon the lady, and ascends to the top of the tower with his victims. He has already thrown one of the children into the ditch when his master arrives upon the spot and, unable to get at him, begs him for mercy. He will grant it, he says, if his master will cut his own nose off. When this strange request has been complied with, he nevertheless flings the other children over the crenellated top, finally slaying his wretched mistress and throwing himself headlong from the tower. "Credo di eterno dolore", the over-severe master alone will survive this tragedy. In the ballad there are two children only, and they have already been killed when the master returns. It is in a vain attempt to save his wife that he cuts off his nose, and when seeing her murdered he dies on the spot, the slave thus having the satisfaction of knowing that no member of his master's family remains alive before he commits suicide. As the entry in the Stationers' Registers mentions only two children and speaks of the tragical end of both lord and lady, it may not be too venturesome to suppose that the ballad represents the form that the story had from the first assumed in England.

Some time later within the same twelvemonth, "Henry Bynnyman" took out a licence for "a booke intituled *a Dyscourse and the over moche Crueltye of a Wydowe towards a yonge man &c*"¹. Relying upon the authority of the *Bagford Papers*, W. C. Hazlitt quotes the title of this work as *A Discourse of the great crueltie of a widow towards a young gentleman, and by what means he requited the same. Set forth in English verse by Jo. Go.*, and gives the author's name as John Goubourne². But the book has long been lost and nothing more is known about it. It is commonly supposed to be a metrical version of the story of Zilia and the Lord of Virle, already translated by Painter (II, 27) and by Fenton (II), who had headed it with a similar title³.

With the exception of an allusion to the feud of the Montagues and the Capulets in "A Devise of a Maske for the right honorable Viscount Mountacute" included in *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small Poesie*, a collection of various pieces in

1. Arber's *Transcript*, I, 414.

2. W. C. Hazlitt, *Handbook to the Popular and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain*, 234.

3. Cf. Koeppel and M. A. Scott, *Op. cit.*, 96 and 232.

verse and prose, some of them the work of George Gascoigne, published in 1572, one has to wait till the year 1574 for the next appearance of anything in some way related to Bandello¹.

In this year, Barnabe Rich brought out *A right exelent and pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier : Contayning his Supplication to Mars : beautified with sundry worthy Histories, rare inventions, and politike devises*. In order to find the God of War the English soldier has to go to the court of Venus. There he not only sees "hangings ... al of Arras, very richly wrought. In which was expressed the pitifull History, of *Romeus* and *Juletta*, *Gismonda* and *Guistairdo*, *Piramus & Thisbe*, *Livio* and *Camilla*, and of many other loving wightes, who in regarde of *Venus* Law, had indured many bitter torments, and yelded themselves to martirdome"², but he hears some one relate a tale the original of which was in Bandello. This, however, does not add anything to the Elizabethan knowledge of this writer, for the tale is no other than the story of the Lady of Chabrye, a relation of which had already been written by Fenton. Like Fenton's, Rich's version is founded upon Belleforest's translation. But he follows his model much more closely than Fenton had done³. Curiously

1. The same collection also included a novel entitled "A Discourse of the adventures passed by Master F. J.". This occurs again, in a revised form, in *The Posies of George Gascoigne, Esquire, Corrected, perfected and augmented by the author*, 1575, where it is entitled "The pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Jeron(i)mi and Leonora de Valasco, translated out of the Italian riding tales of Bartello". The author of the notice of Gascoigne in the *Dictionary of National Biography* has it that Bartello here stands for Bandello. But no such story has ever been related by the Italian *novelliere* (cf. M. A. Scott, *Op. cit.*, 25).

2. Fo MI, verso.

3. Though he is guilty upon occasion of some slight inaccuracies or actual mistranslations. As for instance :

Cestuy-cy, pour estre le conseil du
sieur de Chabrie (Hist. 16, fo 216).

Le bon ho(m)me ne se soucie plus
que de bribonner ses oraisons, & menuz
suffrages le soir, pendant que demy gla-
cée, j'atten une seconde glace en luy,
qui refroidit du tout en moy l'ardeur
de mes premiers desirs (fo 217).

Vostre grandeur, & le sang du feu
seigneur de Chabrie, sont interessez (à
mon advis) par ceste trop gra(n)de pri-

This Docter, for that he was of
counsell with the Lords of Chabry
(fo I, 5).

This good man careth for no more
but to mumble his Prayers and small
Suffrages, in the evening tyll he bee as
coulede as Ise, which doeth whollye coole
in mee the heate of my first desyres
(fo I, 6).

Your greatnesse and the bloode of the
late Lord of Chabry, are or oughte tō
be, in my judgement, lettes and stoppes

enough he does not mention him, but expressly refers to Bandello as the narrator, at the same time passing upon him a moral judgement that stands quite by itself in Elizabethan literature : "This History thus finished", he writes, "I asked of Lady *Countenance*, what he should be that had used such lavish speache : who answered, that it was one *Bandelio*, an *Italian*, not far unlyke in condicions, to the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, who many times used by words to invay againste that which actually he so much frequented" ¹. For in Rich's opinion this was a tale meant to exemplify the various inconveniences arising out of love ². In this he is at one with both Fenton and Belleforest. Yet he seems to have thought that there were in the pages of the French author rather too many passages of pure moralization for his taste, and he occasionally abridges them. He does so especially in the second half of the novel, where they are most numerous. Here he omits from Tolonio's speech in his prison all the latter part, which strikes the devout and religious note. Neither does he say anything about the remorse which, according to Belleforest and Fenton, the lady felt after her flight from her native town, with the result that, if his conclusion shows vice punished, it does not show, as those of his predecessors had done, the final though belated triumph of the better impulses in human nature. Which may be truer psychology, and more satisfactory from an artistic point of view, but certainly reveals a mind not so bent upon edification at whatever cost ³.

vauté, que l'advocat Tolonio a ordinairement avec vous (fo 223).

Le seul respect de vostre honneur, m'a empesché d'y voir de plus près (fo 224).

Blesmissant de colere, & de rage (Ibid.).

1. Fo M1.

2. "I think it not amisse to recreate your weryed myndes with this so straunge a Historye, whereby you shall perceive whether this grose affection, vayne hope, and blynd love, may carry men unto, and of what force the Arrowes of blind *Cupid* be, and what frute they bringe to them that practise the same how it not onely passionatly (*sic*) their mindes with most outragious, and intolerable afflictions, but also so farre overwhelmeth them that they many times, throwe them selves head longe into the gulfe of mortall destruction, and into the depth of shame and infamy, as this history more evedently appeareth which in this wise ensueth." (fo I, 3).

3. Here is Rich's conclusion : "Thus in such sort she which al hir life had

unto the over gret familiaritie that ye advocate *Tolonio* hath ordinarilie with you (fo K4 verso).

Ye onlie respect of your honor hath caused me too looke unto it more neerely (fo K5).

Blushing with cholor and rage (Ibid.).

Edification was also in the mind of George Whetstone when some two years later he put together *The Rocke of Regard, divided into foure parts. The first, the Castle of Delight : Wherin is reported, the wretched end of wanton and dissolute living. The second, the Garden of Unthriftinesse : Wherein are many sweete flowers, (or rather jancies) of honest love. The thirde, the Arbour of Vertue : Wherein slaunder is highly punished, and vertuous Ladies and Gentlewomen worthily commended. The fourth, the Orthchard of Repentance : Wherein are discoursed the miseries that followe dicing, the mischiefes of quareling, the fall of prodigalitie ; and the souden overthrowe of foure notable cousners ; with divers other morall, natural, & tragical discourses : documents and admonitions : being all the invention, collection and translation of George Whetstone, Gent.* This miscellany is dedicated to the young Gentlemen of England in an epistle dated October 15, 1576. The first piece in it is entitled "The disordered life of Bianca Maria, Countesse of Celaunt, in forme of her complainte, supposed at the hour of her beheading for procuring the murder of Ardissimo Valperga, Earle of Massimo". A summary of the story as it had been related by Painter and by Fenton, it consists of 68 seven-line stanzas in iambic pentameters (a b a b b c c), in the middle of which there intervene, after stanza 44, 6 six-line stanzas in the same metre (a b a b c c). It is full of moral reflections, some of which are arranged in strings of sentences with a proverbial ring. This is followed by another piece in the same metre, "An Invective written by Roberto Sanseverino, Earle of Giazzo, against Bianca Maria, Countess of Celant". Both pieces contribute with "Cressid's complaint" and the story of

co(m)maunded & ruled a great troupe of servauntes & maids, was now constrayned to obey unto suche a one, which was muche inferior to hir : and agayne shee which in hir young yeares had been delicately and with great care nourished & brought up, now drawing upon the end of hir days, she suffred perpetual exile, subject to the pleasure of another, prest and ready (as she did in deede) to die out of hir country, & to receyve sepulcher in another place, then in the Monument & tombe of hir Progenitors. This is then the ende of the dishonest love of these lascivious adultrers : beholde the frutes of a tree so detestable & pernicious. These are the pleasures that in the ende accompanie these inordinate lovers, see howe the lowryng eyes of beautyes vading Joyes hath so inchaunted these *Venerians*, that now quite forgetting all grace and goodnes do plunge them selves in the pitte of perpetull shame and infamie : beholde whither thys outrageous and beastly lust covered with the name of pure and earnest love, is able to draw these gentle subjects, to cause them to commit most heynouse murders, to imbrue theyr hands in the shedding of innocent bloud" ; f^o L 8.

"Rinaldo and Giletta", a novel to which we will return, to show up "the wretched end of wanton and dissolute living". Contrariwise, the second part was devoted to "honest love". Therein is first "reported the dolorous discourse of Dom Diego, a Spaniard, together with his triumphe". This Dom Diego is the hero of the 29th tale in Painter's second volume, and of Fenton's 13th Discourse. A brief prose summary of the events leading to his retreat in the Pyrenees is followed with "Dom Diego his dolerous discourse", a "love-plaint" in 18 stanzas of four fourteeners rhyming in couplets ; then the prose summary is resumed, and when the unfortunate lover has at long last been reinstated in the good graces of his Lady he utters his "Triumphe" in 13 stanzas of six pentameters, the rhyme scheme of which is again a b a b c c. Quite plainly, in spite of his moral window-dressing, Whetstone had been interested in this story especially because of the opportunity it offered of writing two antithetical "love-passions" akin to those which Belleforest had grafted upon Bandello's narrative, and which had been translated into English, if not by Fenton, at least by Painter¹. But he may have yielded to a genuine moral purpose when including in his third part, entitled "The Arbour of Vertue" and provided with a special dedication "To the right Honourable and vertuous Lady, Jana Sibilla Greye", "The Discourse of Lady Barbaraes vertuous behaviours" (this is of course the heroine of Painter, II, 28), and "The complaint of the Lorde Alberto and Udislao, the two Hungarian barons, that unadvisedly wagered their land to winne the vertuous Ladie Barbara to wantonnesse : who having the foyle (besides the losse of their livings) for their slaunderous opinions, were condemned to perpetuall exile". The first piece is in fourteeners rhyming in couplets ; the second is in thirteen stanzas of seven pentameters (a b a b b c c) ; both are preceded by a prose summary of the story, and of course the praiseworthy character of the Lady's conduct in throughout very much insisted upon².

1. Fenton had retained only the longest of these, beginning in the French with :

Celle moytié de mon ame,
Qui en recherchant son mieux,...

2. Whetstone's fourth part also contains the following : "It seemeth this Lady Eaymos... was in very deede as fayre as Flora, as faithful as Faustine, as loving as Layis, as meeke as Medea, as honest as Hellen, as constant as Cressed, and as modest as Maria Bianca", (ed. Collier, p. 279), thus bringing to four with Faustina

Though Whetstone claimed in his dedication of "The Arbour of Vertue" to have "faithfully (though not curiously) translated the modest and noble life of a Bohemian lady, with the fall of two Hungarian barons", his were variations upon the themes of some novels out of Bandello much rather than actual translations. Not so *A most lamentable and Tragicall historie, conteynning the outrageous and horrible tyrannie which a Spanishe gentlewoman named Violenta executed upon her lover Didaco, because he espoused another beyng first betrothed unto her. Newly translated into English meter, by T. A. 1576*. This has been preserved in a unique octavo copy, now in the Bodleian Library, which lacks the final pages of the Epistle Dedicatory, addressed "To the Right worshipfull Sir Thomas Gressham". It bears the name Thomas Achelley on its final leaf. In the opening epistle, the translator expresses the opinion that to discourse of the cruelties of Medea or Progne "were but vaine taken traveyle, and time altogether mispended, which might otherwyse have beene farre better employd". For "those are but Ethnicke examples, farre fette, and a wonderfull waye distant from our climate both by Sea and Lande : and committed among such barbarous people, that had no knowledge of any God nor yet of any sparke of Civilitie". The events he is going to relate are more arresting because they happened nearer home, in Spain, in a country moreover "that lyeth in the hart of Christendome, where God is knowen and honoured, mutiall amitie frequented, and all kinde of good order and civilitie observed"¹. They were not unknown to English readers, for Painter had already made them the subject of one of those tales "out of Bandello" for which he had closely modelled himself upon Boaistuan (I, 42). Thomas Achelley's metrical version is in fourteeners, arranged in couplets, but so printed that each line is cut into two, of four and three stresses respectively. It shows some independence in the portrait of Didaco before his marriage of Violenta, and to this we shall

the number of those of Bandello's characters whom he alludes to. All these he could have found in the pages of Painter, while two only occur in Fenton's collection. Thus it would seem that his knowledge of them was derived from the former. This is confirmed by various details. For instance he styles Dom Diego "the Foster Lover", which was Painter's, but not Fenton's, translation of Belleforest's « Le forestier amant »; and in the story of Barbara, like Painter, he transforms the Polish magician who gives her husband the famous picture into a character answering to the name of "Pollaco".

1. F^o A 2.

return. But after this it is plain that Achelley takes either Painter or Boastuau for his guide. For not only does he fix at six hundred ducats, as they had done but as Bandello had not, the sum that Didaco sends to Violenta's mother in an attempt to make the girl his mistress¹, but his account of the lot of Violenta's servant after Didaco's murder also agrees with theirs and not with Bandello's². Once again the work of the French translators provides an intermediate link between the Italian and the English forms of the story.

VI

All this evinces a continuing interest in some of Bandello's characters. And so do the sundry allusions to them that are to be met with in the pages of Pettie's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, also published in 1576³. But the same names are for

1. Thus Painter: "At lengthe pressed with grieve and annoyance, hee was advised to sende sixe hundred ducates to the mother, for a reliefe to the mariage of her daughter, promising besides, that he would assigne her an honest dowrie, when she found a man worthy to be her husbande : uppon condicion that she would yelde to him some comforte, to ease his affection"; Jacobs, I, 222. Bandello simply said: "E ben che egli fosse molto eloquente e bel parlatore, e promettesse a la madre e a la figliuola cose assai, e volesse innanzi tratto buona somma di danari darle, e quando poi si volesse maritare provederle di conveniente e ricca dotte, nondimeno altra riposta da Violante aver non poté se non che ella se gli conosceva molto esser ubligata per l'amore che egli diceva di portarle"; ed. Brognoligo, II, 117.

2. Cf. p. 28, above. — In view of all this, Miss M.A. Scott is somewhat misleading when she simply states that "*Violenta and Didaco* is a metrical translation of Bandello, I, 42"; *Op. cit.*, 234.

3. These are as follows (the references are to Prof. Gollancz's edition): Nov. I, Sinorix and Camma (in a letter from Camma to Sinorix, who has offered her his love for the second time): "You would ill have done as the knight Virla did, who at the commandment of his lady Zilia, forbore the use of his tongue and remained dumb the term of three years"; I, 27. — The same novel (Camma is reflecting upon the dangers inherent in her rejection of the suit of Sinorix): "May I not justly look to have his love turned to hate, and that he will either by tyrannous means seek the subversion of my husband and his whole household, either by treacherous means work the overthrow of me and my good name? For the first, Edward, a king of England, may serve for an example, who when the Countess of Salisbury would not consent to content his incontinent desire, he so raged against her parents and friends, that the father was forced to persuade his own daughter to folly, and the mother as a bawd to prostitute her to the King's lust, and bring

ever recurring, and as regards Bandello all these authors are moving in the same limited circle. Indeed, though he knows the stories "out of Bardello" and seems to appreciate them, Pettie goes for

her to his privy chamber. For the second, the Earl of Sancalier may serve for testimony, who when the Duchess of Savoy would not yield to his lascivious lust, wrought such wiles, that she was condemned for adultery, and judged to suffer most shameful death by burning"; I, 33. — The same novel again (Camma is fortifying herself in her denial): "Is not an honourable death to be preferred before an infamous life? And touching the Countess before rehearsed, had she ever married with the King if she had not continued in her constancy to the end? And for the Duchess of Savoy, what hurt sustained she by that false accusation?"; I, 35. — The same novel again (Camma is resolved not to survive her husband, murdered by Sinorix): "Did Julietta die upon the corpse of her Romeo, and shall my body remain on earth, Sinnatus being buried?"; I, 42. — Nov. 3, Germanicus and Agrippina (Germanicus deliberates whether he will offer his love to Agrippina though she is of a higher rank than his): "Why Alerane, a youth like myself, practised the mighty Emperor Otho his daughter and darling Adalesia, stole her away and married her, and do I stick to attempt the like with one of far meaner estate, though of far more worthiness?"; I, 78. — The same novel (Agrippina would dissuade Germanicus from seeking the Empire): "Alas, good husband! was it for my sake you sought the empire? Do you think I cannot be content with the estate which fortune shall assign to you? Yes! if it were to beg my bread from door to door, as Adalesia did with her Alerane, I could be contented therewith, so you were not tormented therewith!"; I, 103. — Nov. 5, Icilius and Virginia (part of the moralizing conclusion): "Humbly request them (your parents) you may choose where you like, and link where you love; that you may be married to a man rather than money, to quiet rather than coin. Dutifully tell them that such pressiness of parents brought Pyramus and Thisbe to a woful end, Romeo and Julietta to untimely death, and brave Virginius miserably to murder his own daughter Virginia"; I, 167-68. — Nov. 7, Scilla and Minos (Scilla is speaking): "Venus herself yielded herself to her darling Adonis without any suit made on his part; Phaedra made suit to Hippolitus; Oenone pleaded her right with Paris; Dido did Aeneas to understand how deeply she desired him; Brysis besought the good-will of Achilles; Adalesia by her governess made love to Alerane; the Duchess of Savoy went on pilgrimage to the knight Mendoza; infinite like examples I could allege; and why is it not lawful for me to do the like, and make love to King Minos...?"; II, 12. — Nov. 10, Minos and Pasiphae (part of the moralizing conclusion): "Women ought to spin with Penelope, to spill with Camma, to kill with Lucrece, to be slandered with Susanna, with Savoy, and with others, to endure any torment, rather than to lose one jot of their chastity and honesty!"; II, 107. — Nov. 11, Pygmalion's friend, and his image (part of the moralizing conclusion): "But to ...come to trifling friendship, consisting in pleasant privy practices, I would wish those women which deal that way... to use wary heed in ridding away those friends they are weary of. It is a dangerous piece of work, and importeth as much as their good name cometh to; for if they shall, without discretion and great cause, disclaim a man's friendship, it is the next way, unless his government of himself be very great, to make him proclaim what friendship he hath had of them in times past. This was it which made Faustine so famous as she was: this it is which blazed the bruit of Blanch Maria throughout the world"; II, 133. It will be noticed that all these Bandellian characters are in Painter, while some

those which he relates to other sources. It looks as if the Elizabethans had already drawn from Bandello practically all that they cared to. Yet a few authors were still to borrow fresh material from him.

Among them it is customary to name George Turberville. That he was interested in stories of a tragic cast might perhaps have been inferred from the fact that he had written one of the pieces of verse prefixed to Fenton's *Discourses*. He gave sure proof of it when he brought out his *Tragical Tales, translated by Turberville, In time of his troubles, out of sundrie Italians, with the Argument and Lenvoye to ech Tale*. There is no entry of this work in the Stationers' Registers, and the earliest known edition of it is dated 1587. But Koepfel has shown that it was certainly published before May 15, 1577¹. It is a collection of ten tales in lines of six and seven accents rhyming in couplets, the source of seven of which has been traced to Boccaccio. Of the remaining three the source of tale no 2 had not been discovered till lately, while tales no 5 and 8 were usually said to proceed from Bandello. The heroine of number 5 is Rosamond, the wife of Alboin, the King of the Lombards, whose story had been related by Bandello in his part III, nov. 18, and might also have been accessible to Turberville, in a French form, in the fourth volume of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, where it is hist. 69². Tale number 8 deals with the fortunes of Aristotimus, which Turberville might have read either in Bandello, III, 5, in Belleforest, IV, 73, or in Painter, II, 5. Unless indeed he had come upon this tyrant in the *Moralia* of Plutarch, whether it had been in the Greek text, in the Latin translation of Xylander, 1570, or in Amyot's French rendering,

only are to be found in Fenton. And it may also be noted that in the 6th novel of this collection, the pulse of Alcest is quickened when Admetus is by, in the same way as that of Antiochus when he is in the presence of Stratonica.

1. "George Turberville's Verhältniss zur italienischen Litteratur", *Anglia*, XIII (1891), 42-71. I must own to not having been convinced by Professor Hyder E. Rollins's arguments in support of a contention that Turberville's *Tragical Tales* had been composed between 1574 and 1575: "New facts about George Turberville", *Modern Philology*, XV, (1918), 513-38.

2. If Miss M. A. Scott were to be believed, he also might have read it in the pages of Painter. But she is mistaken in her assertion, put forth in connection with this tale of Turberville, *Op. cit.*, 236, that Painter's "Wife Punished", *Palace of Pleasure*, I, 57, is a prose translation of the same romance. Cf. above, p. 32, n. 1.

1572, and again 1574 and 1575¹. Between his two tales and those that have just been mentioned, however, we may notice various discrepancies which, though slight, are yet marked enough for Koeppel at least to have found himself unable to decide which of them Turberville had taken for his immediate guide². Now the fact has generally escaped notice that Turberville might also have read the story of Aristotimus, in English, in part IV, ch. 8, of *The Foreste or Collection of Histories, no lesse profitable, then pleasant and necessarie, dooen out of Frenche into Englishe, by Thomas Fortescue*, London, 1571, which purports to be a translation, after the French of Claude Gruget, of the *Silva de varia leccion* of the Spaniard Pero Mexia. But here we note with some surprise that Aristotimus is nowhere to be found in any one of the Spanish editions of the *Silva*, whether it be those in three, in four, or in six parts. Conversely, though absent from Fortescue's pages, Rosamond is there (part III, Ch. 23 or 24 according to the editions). The puzzle is solved when we find that both Aristotimus and Rosamond are to be met with in some Italian and French translations, with additions from other sources, of the *Silva* of Pero Mexia. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the earliest of these is *La Selva di Varie Lezzioni, di Pietro Messia di Seviglia, Tradotta di Spagnolo nella nostra lingua volgare, per Mambrino da Fabbrino. Di nuovo aggiuntovi la quarta parte del medesimo...In Lione. Appresso Bastiano di Honorati. M.D.LVI*. The first three parts are translated from the Spanish, and it is there that the story of Rosamond occurs. The fourth part contains, not only the story of Aristotimus, but also the narrative of the fortunes of the heroine of Turberville's tale no 2. I have stated elsewhere my reasons for thinking that it was from this compilation of Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano, to give him his full and correct name, that Turberville took the two tales that he had hitherto been supposed to have borrowed from Bandello³.

Turberville is not to be ranged, then, among those who translated tales out of Bandello into English. But there are some such tales in *Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragicall Hystories. Translated out*

1. Cf. above, p. 37.

2. *Anglia*, XIII, 53, as above.

3. Cf. R. Pruvost, *The source of George Turberville's "Tragical Tales"*, n^o 2, 5, and 8.

of *French into Englishe*, by R. S. Anno. 1577. The book was issued by Hugh Jackson, and from the entry in the Stationers' Registers of the licence that he took out for it on July 30th, 1577, we learn that the author's name was "R. Smythe"¹. This Smyth did not live to see his work through the press, and it was a friend of his who undertook the task of providing it both with a dedicatory epistle, addressed "To the right Worshipfull, Mayster Henry Vernon of Stoke, in the Countye of Salop, & Mayster John Vernon of Sudbury, in the Countye of Darby, Esquyers" and subscribed "At Butley this. xxx. of October. 1577. Yours most bounden, T. N.", and with an epistle "To the curteous, friendlye, and indifferent Reader"². This friend shows himself convinced of the moral usefulness of the book. "Certaynelye", he writes, "the view and consideration of the accidentes that have dryven others (for notorious enormyties committed, and lose lyfe lewdely lead,) upon the rufull rockes, and sandy shelves of lamentale (*sic*) losse, and doleful decaye, is in my opynyon a good document for us to beware of semblable folly, & to keepe our selves within the prescripte boundes of modest behayour"³. In these words he gives also a fair indication of the nature of its contents. It is made up of four tales. In the case of three of them Koeppl has rightly pointed out that they were derived in the first instance from Bandello, but when it came to indicating the source of the fourth, that is n^o 2, he gave no more than a question-mark. Miss Scott has been content to follow him. Now it is a rather curious thing that this tale not only should come from Bandello like the other three, but like them should have been turned into English by R. Smyth from the French of Belleforest.

The first tale relates "A just Fact, but to cruell, of John Maria, Duke of Myllayne, towarde a Priest extreme covetous". It is derived from Bandello, III, 25, through Belleforest, 29⁴. The

1. Arber's *Transcript*, II, 317: "Hughe Jaxon. Lycensed unto him ffoure straunge and lamentable Tragicall histories Translated out of frenche into Englishe by R. SMYTHE."

2. Epistle to the Reader, f^o A 4, verso: "Beseeching thee ge(n)tle Reader to accept wel in worth this prety Pamphlet... : which as it now perchau(n)ce lacketh not here and there his imperfections, so (had God lent to the Authour longer lyfe) would have bene better poolysht".

3. *Ibid.*, f^o A 4.

4. According to Fresco, *Op. cit.*, 42, there is a similar story in the novels of

subject is more clearly indicated by the Italian title: "Gian Maria Vesconte secondo duca di Milano fa interrare un parrocchiano vivo, che non voleva seppellire un suo popolano se non era da la moglie di quello pagato". The English version dwells at great length upon the anguish of the poor widow, compelled to keep in her own house the corpse that the avaricious priest refuses to bury as long as money is not forthcoming. This he does at last in compliance with the Duke's orders. But then the Duke has him tied to the dead body, face to face and mouth to mouth, and buried alive with it. As if this were not enough, there are lengthy considerations upon still more cruel forms of the same torment, described with a luxury of ghastly, horrible details at the reading of which one feels one's gorge rise. The story concludes, it is true, with a condemnation of the Duke's excessive severity, which was finally punished, so we are told, when he was murdered by his subjects. But this hardly agrees with the grim gusto and macabre jocosity with which the priest's fate had before been foreshadowed and related.

Tale no 2 deals with "A Gentleman Myllinois" who, "beeing amorous at the very end of his age, for the extreame Jelosy of his Concubynne, was cause of the death of his Sonne and of himselfe, and lastly of the unhappy ende of the Harlot, whiche was cause of all". It is a close, if awkward, translation of Belleforest's « Histoire dix-septième », entitled: « D'un gentil homme Millanois, qui, amoureux sur la fin de son aage, pour extreme jalousie d'une sienne garse, fut cause de la mort de son fils, & de la sienne propre: & la fin mal heureuse de la paillarde, qui fut occasion de tout cecy », which in its turn is an amplification of Bandello, III, 33. The hero is an old man of sixty, a widower, who lived upon his country estate at "Monze", near Venice, with his two sons, aged respectively eight and twenty. Though advanced in years he had taken for a concubine the daughter of a farmer of his. Yearning for a younger and a lustier lover, she made an offer of her person to the old gentleman's elder son. He repulsed her with horror, however, and so vexed she was that during one of his absences from home she complained to his father, with great anguish depicted upon her countenance, that he had attempted violent rape upon

her. At the young man's return, his father rushed upon him with drawn sword. While trying to make his escape, the youth so unluckily fell down a steep hole that his head was smashed upon the stones at the bottom. The sight of his mangled remains turned his aged father's rage of anger into one of grief, and he ran himself through with his sword. Appalled at the dreadful results of her deception and struck with remorse, the "harlot" in her turn went and threw herself headlong into a well.

In tale no 3 (from *Bandello* I, 52, through *Belleforest*, 15) "A Mahometan slave, revengeth the death of his Lord, upon his son that was the Homecyde, and rendered the principalitie, (being chosen of the people) to him, to whome by righte of Lynage, and succession it did appertayne". Being impatient to rule in his father's place, the eldest of the eleven sons of the aged Sultan of the Oriental island of Orme, after causing their eyes to be put out, had his father, his mother and nine of his brothers put to death. He spared only one poor child, the youngest, who was so witless that he thought he had nothing to fear from him. Now the old Sultan had two Aethiopian slaves, Mahomet and Cayme, who had always served him faithfully, and who for their virtue and prudence had won golden opinions of every one. This was the very reason why the new Sultan distrusted them and contrived a plot to be rid of them also. He first summoned Mahomet to his presence and ordered him to murder Cayme, meaning to have him afterwards sentenced to death for this crime. Mahomet refused, however, and the Sultan let him go, pretending to have spoken as he had only in order to try him. Some days later, he enjoined Cayme to murder Mahomet. Cayme was more willing to comply. But when he saw him come towards him Mahomet called out : "Avaunt, traitor and murderer!", in such a voice that Cayme dropped his weapons and confessed everything. Then his companion advised him to go back to the Sultan and declare that he had carried out his orders. He had no sooner done so than his master, under pretence of embracing him as a token of his satisfaction, viciously stabbed him. But now, armed to the teeth, Mahomet appeared upon the scene. He looked so frightful that the Sultan's guard sought safety in flight. The Sultan himself was secured and delivered to the people, who made him a victim of mob-law and acclaimed Mahomet for their sovereign. He put the affairs of the country in order, and then restored upon the throne of his fathers

the poor child who all this time had lived in a mosque under the protection of the Mahometan priesthood.

Tale n^o 4, from Bandello, I, 44, through Belleforest, II, enacts a more domestic tragedy. There we see how "The Marques of Ferrara, without having regarde to fatherly love, caused his owne Sonne to be beheaded, for that he was found in Adultery with his faire Mother in law, who lykewyse lost her head in Pryson, by his commaundement". After the death of his first wife, the Marquis had through several years of single life taken many mistresses and begotten many bastards. These illicit loves he did not forego after marrying the daughter of "the Lord Charles Maletest", who was younger than he by many years. Indeed, her age exactly agreed with that of her husband's son by his first wife, Hughes, Count of Rovigo. Now the Marchioness felt very much aggrieved at her lord and master's infidelities, and wished she could pay him back in the same coin. Thus it was that she began casting a loving eye upon her stepson, till one day, during one of the Marquis's absences, she so fondled and cajoled him that the easily inflammable youth presented her on the spot with the revenge she was thirsting for. In the secret commerce they had thus begun to each other's satisfaction they continued for several months. But a servant of the Marquis noticed that, every time he absented himself at night, his son also absented himself from his room. He watched him, and through a chink of the wall saw him take his disport with his stepmother. Of course, at the first opportunity that offered he favoured his master with the same sight. The irate Marquis had the two culprits thrown into prison and beheaded.

In all these tales Smyth closely follows Belleforest. He reproduces all his oratorical patches, all, or nearly all, his moralizing digressions and disquisitions. In only one case does he show some independence: that is when he omits from his fourth tale some of the most precise details, the lascivious character of which is in a direct ratio to their precision, which Belleforest had accumulated in order to show how the young man, in his first encounter with his stepmother, had been brought to the point which she meant him to reach by a gradual discovery of the desirability of the numerous and most secret charms of her fair body. This apparently had been too much for his sense of what decorum required. But for the rest he aims at being a faithful translator. Unfortunately he is a very awkward one. It is not only that he sometimes

misunderstands his text completely and makes downright nonsense of it, but rather that most of the time his translation is wooden and literal to an absurd degree. With the result that a clear consistent meaning is hardly ever to be extracted from what he writes ¹.

VII

Bandello was not happy in this his latest translator. Nor was he to find any other in Elizabethan England. What remains to

1. Here are examples of these defects taken from his first tale :

Elle ne pardonnoit encor ny a ses cheveux ny à sa face, ains deschira(n)t l'un elle arrachoit les autres (Hist. 29, f^o 213).

Le Duc oyant ce tintamarre & bruit de cloches, ne peut se garder de rire, disant, par dieu Monsieur le Curé vous mo(n)strez bien quel est le glout appetit de vostre avarice, mais puis que les charoignes vous desplaient sans gresse, je vous en donneray tant qu'il en sera memoire d'icy à cent ans. Ses ge(n)s à ces mots ente(n)dirent bien que le duc joueroit quelque passedroit au Curé, & s'asseurerent veu sa contenance que le Prestre valoit autant que mort. Voicy le Chapellain avec ses gens qui viennent, & chantent les vigilles à l'Ambrosiane devant la porte du deffunt, à quoy le Duc assista, & escoutoit avec patience, & grand devotion, l'office cha(n)té pour le mort qu'on voyoit, & pour un autre qui luy tint bien tost compagnie. Ce pendant il fait co(m)mander aux fossoyeurs qu'ils feissent la fosse fort profonde & spacieuse sans dire pourquoy, à quoy il fut obey plustost que il n'eust sçeu le co(m)mander, tant il estoit redouté en sa terre, plus de crainte de sa cruauté, que pour amour que pas un de ses subjects eust vers luy. (f^o 216).

She pardoneth not her own cheekes and face, but scratcheth the one, she bepaynteth the others (f^o B 3).

The Duke hearing the jangling and noyse of the Belles, could not refrayne from laughter, saying : By God Mayster Curat you show well the greedy appetyte of you avaryce, syth the dead carcases doe so displease you without offence, I will gyve you such a reward as shal remayne in memory here this hundred yeres : His men by these wordes perceyv-ed well that the Duke had devysed somewhat agaynst the Curat, & assured themselves seeing his countenance, which the Priest feared as much as death : But behold now the Chaplayne wyth his company, came and sung the Ambrosyan Vygils, before the doore of the dead, to whom the Duke was assistaunte, and hearde wyth pacyence and good devotyon, the Durge sung for the dead, which he behelde gladly then, for one that accompanied him, during this styrr he gave commandement to the grave makers, that they shoulde make the grave verye deepe and large, without telling why so, of whome he was obayed, for that they knewe the commaunder, who was wel known in his Dukedome, more for feare, then love that any of hys Subjects bare him. (f^o C. 3).

be considered are more or less developed allusions, or free adaptations, rather than actual translations.

Yet Thomas Warton mentions in his *History of English Poetry*, upon the authority of "Bishop Tanner, I think, in his correspondence with Thomas Baker... a prose English version of the *Novelle* of Bandello ... in 1580, by W. W.", initials which he supposed to stand either for William Webbe or for William Warner¹. This translation however he had not seen. No copy of it has ever been met with, and in view of the fact that all the allusions still to be recorded refer to the heroes of one or the other of the tales the translations of which we have been reviewing, it seems fair to conclude that it never existed.

Some of these allusions amount to nothing more than passing mention. Such are the allusions to the constancy of Romeo included by John Grange in his curious novel *The Golden Aphroditis*, 1577, and in one of the pieces of verse, gathered together under the title of *Granges Garden*, following it in the same volume²; to the sufferings of Dom Diego and of Romeo included in Thomas Procter's *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, 1578³; to the fact that the Duchess of Malfi gave her love to a man of a rank inferior to hers and married him, and to Adelasia's constancy towards Alcrane, included by H. C. in *The Forrest of Fancy. Wherein is conteined very prety Apothegmes, and pleasaunt histories, both in meter and prose, Songes, Sonets, Epigrams and Epistles, of diverse matter and in diverse manner*, 1579⁴; to Romeo again, but this time in order to condemn his secret marriage, in Austen Saker's

1. *History of English Poetry*, LX.

2. *Golden Aphroditis*, f° D 2, verso: "as tried in truth, as *Romeus* and *Juliet*"; *Granges Garden*, in a piece entitled "The description of the love of a Gentleman and a Gentlewoman", f° Q 2:

"Hath *Paris*, *Leander*, *Pyrame* or *Troylus*,
Aye truer bene than I, to thee my prety mus?
Pesistratus in fayth, or *Romeus* in truth?"

This latter allusion had hitherto remained unrecorded.

3. Poem n° 23. See the text of the allusions in Koepfel, *Italienischen Novelle*, 90 and 93.

4. The first occurs in a letter in which "A yong man being in love with a fayre Gentlewoman, that was but his equall, desyreth to be accepted for her husband", and the second, changing Adelasia's name into "Adulatia", in another letter with this title: "A Lover writing to his chosen friend, who for his sake susteyned much sorrow, exhorteth her to continue constant, and patiently to tollerate her present adversity in hope that better happes will insue"; cf. Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 45.

novel entitled *Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie*, 1580¹; and lastly to Seleucus, also to condemn him, in Anthony Munday's *Zelauto*, 1580².

The year 1581 presents us with something more substantial. It saw the publication of *Riche his Farewell to Militarie profession : conteining verie pleasaunt discourses fit for a peaceable tyme. Gathered together for the onely delight of the courteous Gentlewomen bothe of England and Irelande. For whose onely pleasure thei were collected together. And unto whom thei are directed and dedicated by Barnabe Riche, Gentleman*. This work, which had been composed in Ireland in 1579³, is a collection of nine tales (the last being included in the conclusion) of which the author says that some had previously been presented on the stage, while three, namely no 3, "Nicander and Lucilla", no 4, "Fineo and Fiamma", and no 6, "Of Gonsales and his vertuous wife Agatha", had been "written likewise for pleasure by Maister L. B."⁴. Who was meant by these initials, remains very obscure. Sidney Lee and Morton Luce are agreed that here may be an inaccurate reference to Matteo Bandello⁵. But the source of these three tales has been traced to Giraldi Cinthio⁶. It is not on account of them that Rich's *Farewell* deserves to be mentioned in these pages.

But D. T. Starnes has recently shown that in his first tale, the hero of which is Sappho, Duke of Mantona, besides copying almost *verbatim* passages from Painter's rendering of the stories of The Lord of Virle, of Ariobarzanes, and of A Lady of Bohemia, Rich drew for his picture of the love-passages between Aurelianus, the son of Sappho, and Valeria, the daughter of the Duke of Vasconia,

1. P. 103 : "Had *Romeo* bewrayed his mariage at the first, and manifested the intent of his meaning, he had done very wisely, and gotten licence for the lives of two faithfull friends". Except for being mentioned, but not quoted, in Munro's reprint of Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*, this allusion had hitherto escaped the notice of the critics.

2. P. 125 : "Let *Seleucus* folly to his sonne, forwarne thee what adversenesse consisteth in this contagious disease (love is meant), who joynd his owne wife with his sonne in mariage to satisfie his lust".

3. Ed. Shakespeare Society, p. 8 : "These lovyng histories, the whiche I did write in Irelande at a vacant tyme, before the comyng over of james Fitz Morice...".

4. Ed. Shakespeare Society, p. 16.

5. Cf. *D. N. B.*, s. v. Rich, and Rich's "*Apolonius and Silla*", introd., p. 49.

6. Cf. Koeppel, *Op. cit.*, 48, and M. A. Scott, *Op. cit.*, 44.

upon Painter's account of the loves of the Duchess of Malfi and of her steward, and of Alerane and Adelsia¹.

It is usual also to mention one of the novels of Bandello as a source of Rich's second tale, entitled "Apolonius and Silla". Together with the Lady Julina and the brother of Silla, Silvio, the heroes of this tale go through very much the same adventures as Olivia, Sebastian, Orsino and Viola in Shakespeare's comedy of *Twelfth Night*. A somewhat similar story had been related by Bandello in novel 36 of his part II, entitled: "Nicuola innamorata di Lattanzio va a servirlo vestita da paggio e dopo molti casi seco si marita, e ciò che ad un suo fratello avvenne". But Rich's indebtedness to Bandello is not demonstrated beyond any possibility of doubt. Founded upon the Italian play of *Gli Ingannati* which, after being acted at Sienna in 1531 by the Academy of the "Intronati", had been published in 1537 as the *Comedia del Sacrificio degli Intronati*, translated into French as early as 1543 by Charles Estienne, and imitated by the Spaniard Lope de Rueda, in 1556, in his *Comedia de Los Engaños*², this novel of Bandello had appeared in a French translation in the fourth volume of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* (1570, hist. 61). It had also inspired the episode of Felix y Felismena in the *Diana* of Montemayor³, upon which is founded the fifth of the *Eglogs* published by Barnaby Googe in 1563⁴; and one of the novels in Cinthio's *Hecatommiti*, namely nov. 8, part V, has situations and incidents bearing some likeness to those in *Gli Ingannati* and in Bandello⁵. Besides, the literature

1. D. T. Starnes, *Barnabe Riche's "Sappho Duke of Mantona": A Study in Elizabethan Story-Making*.

2. Cf. Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 26. Published at Lyons in 1543 as the *Comédie du Sacrifice*, the translation of Charles Estienne was reprinted at Paris in 1548 as *Les Abusez*.

3. Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, *Origines de la Novela*, I, Madrid, 1905, p. clxviii.

4. Barnaby Googe, *Eglogs, Epitaphes, & Sonettes*, London, 1563, ed. by Arber, *English Reprints*, London, 1871. In Montemayor Felismena, who loves Felix but has been unable to retain him by her side, assumes masculine disguise in order to follow him at the court and there, under the name of Valerio, enters his service as a page. Felix employs Valerio to carry his love-messages to Celia, who is smitten with the good looks of the page and, when she finds that he will not return her love, dies of grief. Felismena is recognised by Felix, who marries her. Googe is content with relating the infatuation of the lady for the page who came and intreated her in his master's behalf, and her death when she finds that he will not requite her love. Nor could he do otherwise, for with him the page is not a young lady in male disguise, but really a young man.

5. Cf. Dunlop, *History of Fiction*, 3rd ed., London, 1845, p. 274.

of the time offered other examples of the lady who disguises herself as a page in order to serve the man she loves, and in this capacity carries his messages to another. Such a one is for instance Carmilla, who in the fifth book of *Amadis* pleads to Leonora in favour of Esplandian, whom she loves without being loved in return, though he has been kind enough to accept her as his page when she begged this from him as a favour that she might at least keep near him. It is quite possible that Rich should have known some at least of these derivatives, analogues, or sources, of Bandello's story as well or perhaps better than that story itself. In view of the fact that there are between his and Bandello's version important differences, and that the likeness is only of a general kind, such a conclusion seems indeed inescapable.

With him, Apolonius is a Duke whose abode was at Constantinople. When returning from a glorious expedition against the Turks, he suffers shipwreck and lands upon the "Isle of Cypres", where he receives the hospitality of Duke Pontus. Silla, the daughter of his host, conceives a passion for Apolonius, but he is intent upon nothing but martial exploits, pays no heed to her love and departs in...warlike meditation, fancy-free. Silla resolves to follow him. With the help of her servant Pedro she secretly takes passage on board a ship where she finds herself in some danger from the attentions of the captain. From this she is delivered by a shipwreck. Cast ashore in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, she dons male attire that she finds in the chest thanks to which, alone of all those on board, she has escaped drowning, and then she enters the service of Apolonius under the assumed name of Silvio, and is soon a very great favourite with her master. Since his return home the mind of Apolonius had unbent, and he was paying his addresses to the fair widow Julina. He entrusts Silla-Silvio with love embassies to her, and the lady soon falls in love with the messenger. Now Silla had a brother, Silvio, so like to her "in countenance and favour, that there was no man able to descerne the one from the other by their faces, savyng by their aparell, the one beyng a man, the other a woman". He was away from home at the time of Silla's escape. Upon his return he decides to go in quest of his sister, and at Constantinople is met by Julina, who mistakes him for the page of Apolonius, invites him to her house, and makes herself entirely his. After which he departs, while Apolonius, having learned that Julina's cruelty to him is owing

to his having been expelled from her heart by her preference for his page, casts the latter into jail. Thus Julina is visited by neither of the Silvios, and she is all the more anxious that she knows herself to be with child. She resorts to Apolonius and claims his page for her husband. Silla is compelled in her own defence to reveal her real sex to her, and Julina is on the verge of despair. Fortunately, the real Silvio turns up again and shows himself willing to marry the expectant mother. At the same time, apprised of the real identity of Silla and touched by her devotion, Apolonius takes her to wife.

Now this resembles Bandello's novel (or Belleforest's for that matter) only in the barest outline. With them the brother and sister, Nicuola and Paolo, are the children of a merchant of the city of Esi named Ambrogio Nanni. At the time of the sack of Rome, Paolo had been carried away as a captive by a German soldier, and Ambrogio had been left with only his daughter, with whom he lived at Esi. She is sued in love by Lattanzio (whose part corresponds to that of Apolonius), and returns his passion. But her father, having to absent himself from home, takes her away to a brother of his, and no longer seeing her Lattanzio forgets her. Upon her return she finds that he has transferred his addresses to Catella, the daughter of a rich widower named Gerardo Lanzetti. She would like to reclaim him, but does not know how to go about it. Her opportunity comes during another absence of her father's. This time he has put her to board at a convent of nuns to which various young men resorted in order to have their laundry attended to. Lattanzio was one of them, and thus Nicuola learns that he is grieving over the loss of a favourite page. With her nurse's help, who provides her with man's clothing, she succeeds in entering his service under the assumed name of Romulo. He uses her to carry to Catella his messages and his presents. And Catella falls in love with the messenger.

Thus the central situation in both tales is the same, but the Italian and the English author reach it through very different routes indeed. Nor have all the points of dissimilarity between them been noted as yet. For one thing, while Silla is wholly devoted to Apolonius and honestly endeavours to advance his affairs with Julina, Nicuola makes a show of being ready to enter into an intrigue of her own with Catella, cautions her as to the necessity of taking care that Lattanzio should not notice anything,

and returns to him a garbled account of her interview with his lady-love. For another, whereas Julina is a widow, Catella is the maiden daughter and only heiress of a rich widower¹. This is a slight thing in itself, but something more important hangs upon it. For Catella's father is a suitor for the hand of Nicuola. Meeting Ambrogio, who is returning home from his travels, he presses him for an answer. Nicuola descries them from afar as she was once more, in Romulo's attire, going to Catella, and she immediately retraces her steps, doffs her page's suit at her nurse's, and runs back to the convent. Meanwhile her brother Paolo had after many years' absence come back to Esi. He was so very like his sister that Catella had mistaken him for Romulo and invited him to her house. There Gerardo finds him. He has not received any assurance from Ambrogio, but when seeing Paolo with his daughter he flatters himself into the delusion that this is Nicuola, who has disguised herself as a boy in order, so he thinks, to inspect his house preparatory to marrying him, and accordingly says nothing. Lattanzio for his part had lost his page and was making inquiries for him. They take him to Nicuola's nurse, who reveals to him what her ward has done, thus awaking remorse in his mind for his unfeeling treatment of her, and causing him to repair to Ambrogio and ask for his daughter's hand. His suit has just been agreed to when Gerardo also comes for his answer. Instead, he is presented with a request for his consent to the union of Catella and Paolo. Seeing that brother and sister are so much alike, he realizes what must have taken place in his own house when he left his daughter in the company of the young man and, wisely refraining from crying over spilled milk, accepts Paolo as his son-in-law.

In other words, instead of a romantic tale the heroes of which are high-born people, Bandello has brought the story down to the level of a *fabliau* enacted by members of the mercantile middle-class. This he has done especially by giving to Catella a father who is bested in his suit for Nicuola's hand by his own daughter's former lover, and is deluded by his senile passion into allowing this same daughter to entertain a gallant in his own house. Though Nicuola's fortunes are in general outline about the same as Silla's, both tales are very far apart in their incidents and their atmosphere.

1. Morton Luce is mistaken in his assertion that Belleforest makes her a widow, *Op. cit.*, introd., p. 50.

This is not to say that Rich remains true throughout to the spirit of romance : for instance he treats in a spirit of light banter that is in doubtful taste the sorry plight and anxiety of Julina after the real Silvio has departed from her. Still, if the general outline of his tale be taken into account, he shows himself conscious of what was required of true romance much better than Bandello had done, and the difference is such that he could hardly have taken Bandello's version for his model¹.

And still he certainly knew it. This is shown by another tale of his, tale n° 8, entitled "Phylotus and Emilia". Old Phylotus is desirous of marrying young Emilia, and the girl's father has consented to the match. But she will have none of him and, disguised as a boy, runs away to the young man she loves. Now she also had a brother, Phylerno, who also was strangely like her, and also had been separated from her while both were still in their infancy. He now reappears in his native town, is mistaken at his first coming for his sister, whose disguise and flight are known to her father and to Phylotus, is seized upon, made to don female clothes and taken to the house of Phylotus. There he goes through the form of a marriage with the old man, but soundly cudgels him whenever he seeks to claim his marital rights. Meanwhile he wins the affections of the aged husband-and-no-husband's daughter and, persuading her that Venus, in answer to his earnest prayer, has favoured him with a change of sex, makes her his mistress. Finally

1. In his summary of Rich's tale, when coming to the departure of Apolonius from Cyprus, Furness makes the following remark (Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, p. xvii) : "At this point in Riche's story we find an observation, from which we may draw a fair inference that he had at least read Belle-Forest. Be it remembered that in the French novel, after Lactance's desertion, Nicole indulges in versified grief throughout four pages and more. At this same point Riche says : 'I will here for brevities sake, omit to make repetition of the long and dolourous discourse recorded by Silla for this sodaine departure of her Apolonius'. It is only in Belle-Forest that a "dolourous discourse" is found". With this view Morton Luce seems to agree (*Op. cit.*, introd., 50). Still the situation is not exactly the same. Lactance (or Lattanzio) deserts a girl to whom he had been giving tokens of his love ; Apolonius departs from one of whose love he has not taken any notice. Besides, such "dolourous discourses" were common enough in the literature of the time to make it possible that Rich should have made his remark without having in his mind any one in particular. — Of course an inquiry into Rich's actual sources would be beside the point here. Yet it may be pointed out that Silla's situation with respect to Apolonius, at the beginning of the story, seems more closely paralleled by that of Felismena with respect to Felix, in the *Diana*, than by any other. As for the shipwreck, see below.

all is discovered. Emilia marries the young man of her choice, and Phylotus must perforce accept Phylerno for his son-in-law.

To be sure this bears some likeness to the 8th novel of the fifth Decade of Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*. There also a brother and a sister, twins it is true, are strangely alike and have long been separated, and Rich may have known the story and borrowed from it the shipwreck in his tale of Apolonius and Silla¹. But both the boy and the girl are disguised in order to pursue their loves, and the conclusion is different. The boy only is successful in his amours, and when the father of the young girl whose honour he has ruined meets the disguised sister, he mistakes her for her brother, the seducer of his daughter, and has her thrown into prison. What likeness there is between this tale of Cinthio and Rich's "Phylotus and Emilia" may be due simply to the fact that, as Dunlop says, we have in the former "the rudiments of Bandello's story" of Nicuola and Lattanzio². However this may be, Rich's tale is undoubtedly more like Bandello's in the fact that the old man wishes to marry the young girl, and in the final working out of the imbroglio. Indeed, the resemblance between the two tales has been pointed out by Professor Moore Smith with a completeness that leaves nothing to be desired³.

Still, even here, Rich adds to Bandello themes and incidents of his own, such as Phylerno's trumped up marriage with Phylotus, the vigorous means this strange young "wife" resorts to in order to preserve "her chastity" inviolate even in wedlock, and her metamorphosis by the goddess of Love into a lusty young man. Even when taking Bandello for his model, he freely adapts him much rather than he translates from him.

This he does also in his long romance entitled *The straunge and wonderfull adventures of Do(n) Simonides, a gentilman Spaniarde : Conteinyng verie pleasaunte discourse : Gathered for the recreation aswell of our noble yong gentilmen, as our honourable courtly Ladies : by Barnabe Riche ge(n)tilman..... Imprinted at London by Robart Walley... 1581*⁴. The hero is a young man who, despairing of

1. Cf. on this point Morton Luce, *Op. cit.*, introd., 45.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. G. C. Moore Smith, *Riche's story "Of Phylotus and Emilia"*.

4. It was entered in the Stationers' Registers on October 23, 1581; Arber's *Transcript*, II, 402.

winning the love of a fair lady to whom he is devotedly attached, goes away upon his travels in the habit of a pilgrim. G. Becker has shown that Rich had borrowed this situation, together with the first happenings upon the road, from the Spanish *Selva de Aventuras* of Contreras¹. But he soon parts company with his model, and involves his hero in a set of adventures to which nothing corresponds in the Spanish work. Thus it is that at Venice, while he is praying in a church of the city, a certain Lamia, the wife of a rich merchant named Voltranio, begs him to listen to her confession. She relates that a long time since she had been courted by Proculus. He had vanquished her resistance with the help of an old go-between of the name of Monedula, and she had been imprudent enough to receive him in her own house during an absence of her husband. But Voltranio had come back home one night sooner than he was expected. When finding two people asleep in his bed he had withdrawn without disturbing them, however, and had gone and wakened his wife's servant Claudia. Fortunately, this Claudia was a resourceful wench. She had vouched to Voltranio for her mistress's faithfulness, had advised him to send for a monk that would shrieve her and, when dispatched upon this errand, had repaired to Monedula. Now this Monedula had had occasion to do many a piece of service for a monk called Longotius. She borrows his frock from him, and thus attired penetrates into Lamia's bedroom, where she bids Proculus don her disguise and walk away, while she takes his place by the lady's side. After which it is but an easy matter to convince Voltranio that his wife had had no more objectionable bedfellow than an old woman.

According to Gustav Becker, the source of this incident is the 17th novel in Bandello's 4th volume, a French translation of which had been published at Lyons, as well as the Italian original, in 1573. In spite of minor differences, both novels are indeed very much alike in their general outline². But Bandello's is very short,

1. G. Becker, *The Adventures of Don Simonides, ein Roman von Barnabe Rich und seine Quelle*.

2. In Bandello, the lady is the wife of a merchant of Antwerp, there is no go-between, and the lady's servant, who was taking her own pleasure abroad while her mistress was taking hers at home, learns from a fellow-servant, when coming back home in the morning, that her master has returned in the night and, having discovered that his wife was not sleeping alone, has given orders that a confessor should be sent for. She immediately departs upon this errand and returns with a monk, herself being attired as one. Both holy "men" penetrate into the lady's

whereas Rich's stretches over 23 of the closely packed pages of the original Gothic in-quarto (H 3, verso to M 2). For he has not been content with relating the husband's hoodwinking, but before coming to this scene has expatiated at great length upon Proculus's wooing of Lamia and complaisantly described the wiles and quoted the speeches of Monedula. Rich's effort once more results in free adaptation rather than actual translation.

Whether the one or the other, it was the last but one of its kind in Elizabethan literature. With one exception, what remains belongs to the category of allusions.

In the first part of his *Don Simonides* Rich himself alludes to the story of Dom Diego and Ginevra¹. And there are more allusions of the same kind in George Whetstone's *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, 1582. Several ladies and gentlemen are here discussing various questions connected with the subject of marriage, and they relate stories to illustrate their points of view. One of these, told in the course of the third day's exercise, comes from Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*, nouv. 32: "Punition plus rigoureuse que la mort, d'un mary envers sa femme adultere". A parallel has sometimes been drawn between this tale, which had been previously translated by Painter (I, 57), and some novels of Bandello, but we have already recorded our opinion that these comparisons are misleading². In the course of the discussion, however, the following allusion is made to Romeo and Juliet: "*Piramus and Thisbie, Romeus and Juliet, Arnalt and Anicla*, and

room, where the lover dons the frock worn by the servant, who takes his place in the bed by the side of her mistress. — Becker also points out to some likeness between Bandello's novel and novel 32 of Masuccio's *Novellino*. But according to Letterio di Francia (*Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 37-38), Masuccio's is only one of four similar tales anterior to Bandello's. Among these he finds Bandello's source in Fr. Maria Molza's *Quattro Novelle*, 1549, nov. 1. As for the other three it is his opinion that "nessuno di quei tre autori esercitò alcuna influenza sul B(andello)". Fresco also mentions Molza's novel as the source of Bandello's (*Op. cit.*, 45).

i. Fo R 4, verso: "Did ever the worlde beholde a more president of folly, then in *Don Diego*, who for a scornfull regarde of *Genevera* his compeare, forsooke the state of a Knight, whiche he had worthely achived before the Emperour, left his widowe mother, and with a base mynde, to muche besotted with an injurious Ladie, he became a sorrowfull and solitarie Hermite in the Pereneyan Mountaines, and when as the worlde knew most certainly the light estimation of his fleetyng Mistris, yet had not *Rodrigo* ruled by threatnyng, more then perswasion, the inestimable crueltie of *Genevera*, foolish *Don Deigo* had perished".

2. See pp. 22, note 1, and 33, note 1.

divers others at the point to possesse their loves, were dispossesse of their lives, but yet unstained with dishonesty" ¹. And in the exercise of the fifth day, containing "a large discoverie of the inconveniences of over lofty, and too base Love", there are brief mentions of the Duchess of Malfi and of that wicked woman the Countess of Celant ².

In the same year, in the course of "An Epitaph entituled Commune Defunctorum" included in his *The first foure Bookes of Virgil his Aeneis....., wyth oother Poëtical divises theretoo annexed*, Stanyhurst reproaches the Fatal Sisters with having murdered Thisbe, whom he likens to :

A Sara for goodnesse, a great *Bellona* for hudnesse,
For mylidenesse *Anna*, for chastitye goodlye *Susanna*,
Hester in a good shift, a *Judith* stoute at a dead lift,
Also *Julietta*, with *Dido*, ritch *Cleopatra*,
With sundry namelesse, and woomen more manye blamelesse ³.

Indeed, this story of Romeo and Juliet was a particular favourite, for it is also mentioned by Brian Melbancke, who in his romance of *Philotimus*, 1583, extols to the sky the beauty of his heroine by showing it to have been even greater than Juliet's ⁴, and by the author of poem n° 17, or "A warning for Wooers, that they be not over hastie, nor deceived with womens beautie", in *A Handefull of pleasant delites... By Clement Robinson, and divers others*, 1584, where the fate of Romeo is invoked as an instance of the misfortunes that love invariably brings in its train ⁵.

In the same miscellany poem n° 24, entitled "The lamentation of a woman being wrongfully defamed", recalls the false charge

1. Fo 1, 4 ; cf. Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 93.

2. Cf. Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 36, and M. A. Scott, *Op. cit.*, 48.

3. P. 109 ; cf. Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 94.

4. P. 53 : "Nowe *Priams* sone give place, thy *helens* hew is staine, O *Troylus* weepe no more, faire *Cressed* thyne is lothlye fowle. Nor *Hercules* thou haste cause to vaunt for thy swete *Omphale*, nor *Romeo* thou hast cause to weepe for *Juliets* losse, if ever *Aurelia* had saluted your sight" ; cf. Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 94.

5. Ed. Hyder E. Rollins, p. 45 :

"Where was there found a happier wight,
Than *Troylus* was til love did light?
What was the end of *Romeus*.
Did he not die, like *Piramus*...". (cf. Koepfel, *Op. cit.*, 94).

preferred against the Duchess of Savoy by her would-be-seducer ¹.

Some time before, in his *Mamillia. A Mirrour or looking-glasse for the Ladies of Englande*, 1583, Robert Greene had made his hero fortify himself in his resolve to seek the love of Mamillia with the help of the following reflections: "Be not afrayde of words: for they are as winde, they which are most coy at the first, are most co(n)stant at the last. What a cold co(n)fect had the Lord *Mendoza*, at y^e Dutches of *Savoyes* hand? *Prictor* at his *Colvida* & *Horatius* at his *Curiatia*? So though *Mamillia* were something short in her answeres, it signifieth the greater affection" ². In his *Gwydonius. The Carde of Fancie*, 1584, he also alludes to the marriage of the Duchess of Malfi with her servant, but Koeppel has shown that here he is drawing upon the previous mention of this lady included in *The Forrest of Fancy* rather than upon the original story or any one of its French or English translations ³.

Koeppel further remarks that the following sentence in George Whetstone's *The English Myrror*, 1586: "The Emperor Tyberius put the Priests of the Idoll *Anubis* to the sworde, because they were the instruments for the wanton knight *Mundus* to commit adultrey (by their deceit) with the chaste Romaine Ladie *Paulina*", alludes to the events related in *Bandello*, III, 19 ⁴. Concerning this it may be pertinent to observe that, though a French translation of *Bandello's* novel is to be found in Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, III, 48 (A. D. 1568), no English translation of it has been recorded, and that in *Bandello* the guilty priests were not put to the sword, but nailed upon a cross. Moreover, there were many other versions of the story beside *Bandello's*. It had already been related in English, in particular, by John Gower ⁵. Whetstone need not have gone to *Bandello* for his knowledge of it.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 57 :

"The poisoned *Pancalier*,/ful falsly did accuse
The good Dutchesse of *Savoy*,/because she did refuse,
To grant unto his love,/that was so ungodlie." (cf. Koeppel, *Op. cit.*, p. 96).

2. Rob. Greene's *Works*, ed. Grosart, II, 34. There may be another allusion to the story of the Duchess of Savoy in the second part of the same novel, p. 178: "You are of that order of pilgrims, whose pretended pilgrimage is to seeke *S. James*, but their heart & devotion is vowed to an other Saint".

3. *Ibid.*, IV, 119; cf. Koeppel, *Op. cit.*, 97.

4. *English Myrror*, Book III, ch. 3, p. 219; cf. Koeppel, *Op. cit.*, 97.

5. *Confessie Amantis*, I, ll. 761-1059; cf. *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. by G. C. Macaulay, vol. II, Oxford, 1901, and Letterio di Francia, *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXXI, 48.

He might have found it, for instance, in an Italian continuation of the *Silva* of Pero Mexia, the *Nuova Seconda Selva di Varia Lettione*, compiled by Gieronimo Giglio, of which the British Museum has editions dated 1565 and 1573¹. This work, at any rate, was known to one at least of Whetstone's English contemporaries, for Koeppel has shown that Thomas Lodge borrowed from it several of the stories included in *The Life and Death of William Long beard, the most famous and witty English Traitor, borne in the Cittie of London. Accompanied with manye other most pleasant and prettie histories*, 1593². One of these, entitled "A wonderfull revenge of Megollo" (n^o 4), relates the same events as Bandello, II, 14 (French translation in Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, 14, A. D. 1559), but its inclusion in Lodge's volume must not be put to the credit of Bandello.

Yet there are allusions to the tales of Bandello in general, and to Micca and Aristotimus in particular, in another work published by Lodge in 1596, namely : *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse : Discovering the Devils Incarnat of this Age*. They occur in the portion of the book entitled "The Discovery of Asmodeus, and his lecherous race of Devils Incarnate in our age". Lodge there writes of the fiend named Fornication : "Put him to a sonnet, DU PORTES cannot equall him ; nay in y^e nice tearmes of lechery he exceeds him : at Riddles, he is good ; at Purposes, better ; but at Tales he hath no equall, for *Bandello* is more perfit w^t him then his Paternoster". Whereas he says of the devil called Ravishment, with little accuracy as regards the heroine of Painter, II, 5 : "He it was that ravished DANAE in a golden shower, & MICA the chaste Virgine in the daies of ARISTOTIMUS"³.

When in the same year, 1596, he adjoined to his *Diella, Certaine Sonnets*, the "amorous Poeme of Dom Diego and Ginevra", Richard Lynche gave further evidence that the memory of the work done by Bandello's English translators was still living. The volume first contains a sequence of 38 sonnets addressed by the poet to

1. Part III, ch. 13, pp. 109-110 in the 1565 ed. It must be said that here the fact is barely stated that "Li sacerdoti furono puniti".

2. Koeppel, *Op. cit.*, 68-70. Mss M. A. Scott has read Koeppel so carelessly that she mistakes his reference to the *Nuova Seconda Selva* for one to Pero Mexia's *Silva*, *Op. cit.*, 62.

3. *Works*, ed. by Edmund Gosse, IV, 47 and 51.

Diella, who shows herself most cruel. Sonnet 38 bids her :

Harken awhile (Diella) to a storie
that tells of beauty, love and great disdaine,
The last, causd by suspect ; but shee was sorry
that tooke that cause, true love so much to paine,
For when she knew his faith to be unfained,
spotless, sincere, most true, and pure unto her,
Shee joy'd as if a kingdome shee had gained,
and lov'd him now as when he first did oo her.
I nere incurd suspition of my truth,
(fairest *Diella*) why wilt thou be cruell?
Impose some end to undeserved ruth,
and learne by others how to quench hates fuell.
Read all, my Deere but chiefly marke the end,
and be to mee, as shee to him, a friend.

Hercupon begins an account, in 154 stanzas of six pentameters (a b a b c c), of the love of Dom Diego for Ginevra, of their estrangement, of the young man's ensuing withdrawal to the Pyrenees, and of their final reconciliation, originally based upon Bandello, I, 27. His relation of the events of the story is couched in such general terms that it is impossible to decide whether Richard Lynche follows the Italian original or its translations by Belleforest, Painter or Fenton¹. Besides, he alters the conclusion in such a way as to make Ginevra far less cruel. After his retreat has been discovered by his friend, who here is nameless, Dom Diego entrusts him with a letter for Ginevra in which he begs for her pity, and the Lady, struck with remorse at her harshness and with compassion for his sufferings, flies to him, restores him in her favour, and soon becomes his wife. Let Diella follow this example. The poet exhorts her to "Gynevryze at the last", promising her that if she does so he will "soon forget whate'ere is past". And in a farewell sonnet he announces that he is going to exile himself and perish for the love of his hard-hearted mistress.

Thomas Beard was certainly impelled by very different motives when he included a short summary, less than one page long, of the

1. In their reprints of this work, Grosart and Arber only reca'l Fenton's version of the story. Arber is of opinion that it was "probably the groundwork of this poem". But in Grosart's mind "You have only to read the prose as given in Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* (1579) to discern how very little Linche is under obligation to him beyond the story", (introd., p. x).

story of the Duchess of Malfi in *The Theatre of Gods Judgements: Or, A Collection of Histories out of Sacred, Ecclesiasticall, and prophane Authours, concerning the admirable Judgements of God upon the transgressours of his commandements. Translated out of French, and augmented by more than three hundred Examples, 1597*¹. This occurs in Book II, ch. 22, entitled: "Of whoredomes committed under colour of Marriage", which the impassioned Puritan inaugurates by inveighing against the fact that "oftentimes it falleth out that those which in shew seeme most honest, thinke it a thing lawfull to converse together as man and wife by some secret and privat contract, without making account of the publicke celebration of marriage as necessarie, but for some worldly respects according as their foolish and disordinate affections mispersuadeth them, to dispence therewith". The story of the unfortunate Duchess he adduces as proof that such unions are hateful to the Lord. But he cannot forget either that the instrument of the ruin of the Lady and of her husband was a Cardinal of the Roman Church, and he ends with a fling at the "Scarlet Whore": "And this was a true Cardinal-like exploit indeed, representing that mildnesse, mercifulnesse, and good nature which is so required of every Christian, in traiterous murthering a man so many yeres after the first rancour was conceived". Which only shows, however, that the ways of the Lord are wonderful. For "Gods justice bare the sway, that used him as an instrument to punish those, who under the vaile of secret marriage, thought it lawfull for them to commit any villany. And thus God busieth sometime the most wicked about his will, and maketh the rage and fury of the devill himselfe serve for meanes to bringe to passe his fearefull judgements". A sure enough proof that a Puritan could also be an optimist.

In view of his history upon English soil, it was perhaps not unfitting, as will be seen presently, that Bandello should be turned to their uses by the Puritans. But there is fitness also in the fact that he has supplied the author of *Westward for Smelts, Or, The*

1. To be sure Miss Scott shows herself somewhat lax in her use of the word "translation" when she writes that this is "a short translation, the fourth one that is known, of Bandello's *Duchess of Malfi*, I, 26", *Op. cit.*, 73. Besides, apart from the translation of this novel by Painter, Elizabethan literature offers nothing but the brief allusions to it in *The Forrest of Fancy*, Whetstone's *Heptameron*, and Greene's *Gwydonius*, the last of which seems to have escaped Miss Scott's attention.

Water-mans fare of mad merry Western wenches whose tongues, albeit like Bell-clappers they never leave ringing, yet their tales are sweet, and will much content you. Written by Kinde Kit of Kingstone, 1620, with the matter for a fabliau. As Koeppel has remarked, tale n^o 6 in this collection, related by the "fishwife of Hampton", is founded upon that of Zilia and the Lord of Virle¹. But here the heroine is a Devonshire girl, and we have the story of her harsh imposition of three years' dumbness upon her lover, and of his deft revenge, only in the barest outline. All the sentimental atmosphere has evaporated, to leave nothing but a most ingenious turning of the tables. Serve the sour prude right indeed!².

Before this, the story of Mahomet and Hyerene had been included in *The Queene of Navarres Tales. Containing, Verie pleasant Discourses of fortunate Lovers. Now newly translated out of French into English, 1597*³. The 17th and last tale in the book, it is nothing more than a reprint of Painter's translation of this novel.

All the rest belongs to the history of the Elizabethan stage, not of the Elizabethan novel. The following indeed occurs in *A Womans Woorth, defended against all the men in the world*, London, John Wolfe, 1599, fo B 2 : "*Bandello* witnesseth to us in his histories, that a Lord of *Scandia*, being by nature dull and blockish ; at the very first sight and regarde of a Lady of *Vicensa*, became discreetlie wise and well governed". As however we learn from Anthony Gibson, who signs the Epistle dedicatory, that *A Womans Woorth* had been translated from the French by a friend of his, no particular significance seems to attach to this allusion.

1. Koeppel, *Op. cit.*, 76.

2. The tale is ushered in with these words : "For a woman out of the abundance of her wit, to abuse any man, or herselfe, in such dishonest courses, I thinke it not good : 'cause oftentimes the harme which shee intendeth, and the shame which shee deserveth, lighteth on herselfe : which I will make good by this example" ; ed. Halliwell, p. 57.

3. M. A. Scott, *Op. cit.*, 66.

CHAPTER II

THE SPIRIT AND MANNER OF THE TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

- I — The contrast between the spirit of Bandello's original novels and that of the French models of their English translators and adapters. 103
- II — The spirit of the English humorous novels out of Bandello.
Essential *fabliaux* are in the hands of the English writers turned into love-pamphlets and *exempla* 108
- III — The spirit of the English tragical novels out of Bandello.
The general gloomy atmosphere. — Occasional deepening of the sombre colours in the English versions. — This deepening is due, to a large extent, to the moral preoccupations of the English writers. — These writers are betrayed by their insistence upon moralization into digressions weakening the tragical impact of their stories. — Their moralizing bent goes hand in hand with a view of human nature less essentially pessimistic than Bandello's. — They hardly ever fail to record their detestation of their wicked heroes, like to dwell upon what is morally comforting and worthy of admiration, make their sinners repent and reform, and thus infuse the tragical stories with sentimental, idealistic elements. — They further soften the tragical atmosphere by allowing a far greater scope to sentimental rhetoric. — Even at the cost of some incongruity, they overbalance the tragical elements with purely romantic ones. 115
- IV — The spirit of the English romantic novels out of Bandello.
Through greater scope being allowed to sentimental rhetoric, greater stress being laid upon the purely romantic elements, and the atmosphere being altered so as to make the moral more telling, a similar process of idealization is at work in these novels also. 148
- V — The manner and style of the translations.
Similar characteristics are revealed by the wording and phrasing of the translations especially those of Painter and of Fenton, and by the various changes, both suppressions and additions, which they introduce into them. 163
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From the time when the story of Romeo and Juliet was first presented upon an English stage down to the closing of the theatres, numerous were the English plays the plot or sub-plot of which were taken from one or the other of the novels out of Bandello reviewed in the foregoing pages. Scholars have long since been at work upon a list of these borrowings¹, and at the present day the extent at least, if not the exact nature, of the Italian *novelliere's* influence upon the Elizabethan drama is a matter of common knowledge². What part he may have had, through his translators and adapters, in shaping the destinies of the Elizabethan novel, or whether he had any, these questions on the contrary have been up to the present comparatively neglected³. The present study was born of a wish to furnish them with an answer, and of a belief in the possibility of showing that some of the most striking features of Elizabethan sentimental fiction were brought to England in the wake of the English translations and adaptations of novels out of Bandello.

For the accomplishment of this purpose, the first requisite is of course to try and define the spirit which the authors of these translations and adaptations brought to their work. It will be found to be widely different from that which had presided over the composition of the Italian originals.

Bandello's subjects are quite varied. Dominican friar and Bishop though he was, he often relates with great gusto the very ingenious tricks resorted to by unworthy priests or monks in order to satisfy the cravings of their fleshly appetite; by adulterous wives or unchaste girls in order to hoodwink their husbands or guardians; by lecherously inclined young men in order to wreak a vengeance,

1. See especially M. A. Scott, *Op. cit.*

2. Yet see Féro Rebora, *L'Italia nel dramma inglese (1558-1642)*, Milano, 1925.

3. They are touched upon by Canby, notably in *The Short Story in English*, by Bush, *The Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, and by Baker, *History of the English Novel*, vol. II.

not uncommonly in the worst of bad tastes, against ladies who had resisted them. At other times his tales are tragical and ghastly, and seem to proceed from a radically pessimistic view of human character and destiny. Passion knows no bounds, stops at nothing for its gratification, heaps murders upon murders and ruins upon ruins, and love is hardly anything more than a purely physical appetite. The sins against conjugal faithfulness and feminine chastity are most cruelly punished, with a chastisement harder than death. Virtuously inclined young girls escape dishonour only through loss of life. In its conflict with duty, love triumphs only through doing the loved one to death. Indeed, it leads to bloodshed and murder no less than lust, and even when pure and youthful is debarred by tragic accidents from enjoying the happiness it seems to deserve. But, side by side with these, other novels are of an optimistic, romantic cast. The lustfully inclined are reclaimed from their illicit pursuit by sudden admiration for the virtue, or pity for the hardships, of the ladies whom they have long persecuted. Ladies falsely accused are vindicated, vice is confounded, and virtue emerges triumphant. Lovers reach a secure haven of happiness after being tossed upon the seas of adversity for a long period, all through which they have remained uniformly faithful and constant. Men show themselves disinterested, generous and forgiving, and women courteous, dutiful and loving.

In spite of the great variety of their themes, however, all these tales are as it were steeped in a common atmosphere by the matter-of-fact, almost detached tone, adopted by their narrator. He claims to be recording actual occurrences, and his attitude towards them is that of an unimpassioned chronicler. To be sure, he lets it be seen that in his opinion those characters of his who provide shining examples of virtue are to be admired, and if possible imitated, and those who are totally given up to sinful courses to be looked upon with detestation. But he never pushes the expression of such moral opinions to the length of turning his novels into homilies. Sermons indeed would not come from him with a very good grace. His morals are none of the sternest. It is plain, on the contrary, that he looks upon his heroes and heroines with sympathy much rather than reprobation, even when they are engaged in some unlawful intrigue, if only their adventures are lighted up by the romantic glamour of some great passion, or they bring to the accomplishment of their ends the resources of a ready wit and

nimble invention. He rather leaves one to guess at this sympathy, it is true, than gives definite expression to it. But we feel it to be there from the fact that it agrees with his main and indeed only purpose, which is to provide entertainment. He means to make his readers smile, wonder, admire, pity, or shudder. And for the accomplishment of this purpose it is enough for him to present the variegated deeds of men and women in a bare narrative, free from extraneous ornaments or encumbrances, that speeds rapidly on to its conclusion. He has no edifying preoccupations to make him think it necessary to credit his most wicked characters, in the end, with a belated but wonderful change of heart and reformation. Perhaps indeed he would have felt that this detracted from the artistic unity of his tales. And perhaps it was for artistic reasons, as well as because he wished to appear as a mere chronicler of actual occurrences, that he proved so sparing in his use of ornaments. He hardly ever raises his voice, hardly ever waxes enthusiastic, hardly ever lets himself go in purple patches of description or flights of oratory, but most of the time has himself well under control. Such rhetoric as there is in his pages is subdued and confined within narrow bounds, without ever being allowed to overweigh the relation of events. So designed and conducted as to provide entertainment from what is done rather than from what is felt and said, this bare, unadorned and racy narrative of actual occurrences remains throughout his chief preoccupation.

It was in this that his English translators and adapters greatly differed from him. They were not primarily responsible for the change. In the large majority of cases, as we have seen, their tales out of Bandello were derived, not from the Italian originals, but from Boaistuau's and Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*. As regards the contents of the French collection of novels out of Bandello, this title of *Histoires Tragiques* is apt to be somewhat misleading. To be sure the properly tragic tales here loom larger in proportion than they do in the Italian volumes. But here are also, not only some few novels of the humorous type, but also a good many of Bandello's romantic and optimistic tales. More important is the fact, however, that whether humorous, tragic and pessimistic, or romantic and optimistic, these novels are in their French form handled in a spirit quite different from that which Bandello had brought to their composition. Boaistuau and Belleforest prided themselves upon not being faithful translators,

and the latter went so far as to proclaim it upon one of his title-pages that his « *Histoires* » had been, not simply translated, but also « *enrichies outre l'invention de l'Autheur* »¹. He follows Bandello's lead, or goes beyond him, in that he occasionally introduces a sensual touch in his description of the endearments of his lovers, or adopts a humorous tone to relate actions of an indelicate nature². But this is no more than an occasional divergence into a side-path. More commonly, as Sturel has amply shown, both he and Boaistuau had grafted upon Bandello's text lengthy, voluble pieces of sentimental rhetoric, and availed themselves of every opportunity for giving out a speech, a letter or a soliloquy. They evidently liked most of all to dwell upon the picture and eloquent expression of the conflicting emotions incident to the pursuit of love, and the more ardent the feelings, the more harrowing the conflict, the keener the anguish and the pangs and the more impassioned the soliloquies, speeches and letters, the better pleased they would seem to have been. Hence, doubtless, the consistency with which, in spite of individual variations, they show their heroes and heroines, once they have been struck by one of Cupid's arrows, wonder at the state of their heart, regret the happy time when they were fancy-free, debate whether it were best to give way to their inclination or withstand it, recognise that there is no resisting the power of love, examine the various reasons which make it impossible or at least unlikely that they should ever win the favour of the particular lady or young cavalier whose beauty and virtue have kindled their passion, and finally decide to ignore them and march under the banner of the son of Venus. The young man then offers his service to his lady, usually by letter or messenger because he dare not approach her in person. He meets with little success in the beginning because her sense of what is due to decorum does not allow her to yield at the first assault, and then he passes through various despairing fits from which he recovers to sue her by word of mouth, tremblingly at first and then ardently and eloquently. At this stage he takes to his bed, upon which he sighs, groans, waxes wan and lean, languishes and pines away, as long as some obstacle prevents her from following her inclination and showing herself

1: Title of the second volume, 1565.

2: Sturel, *Op. cit.*, pp. 100 and 116.

courteous and he revives as soon as the time has come when she can appear as willing to yield even while still making some show of resistance. And thus he sometimes reaches final bliss through many expressions of rapture, while the lady on her part goes through very much the same emotions, no less refined and no less eloquently expressed. As if this were not enough, Belleforest had also made his heroes break forth into verse, through a sort of lyrical crystallization of the feelings, whenever these reached too high a pitch for even the most ornately rhetorical prose. And to this both he and Boaistuau had added long-winded moral disquisitions, usually of a very serious cast, in which a religious note is occasionally sounded with no uncertain ring.

All this shows that the French translators of Bandello's novels were interested in the feelings, or at any rate in what they conceived to be their eloquent expression, and in the formulation of the principles that should guide actions and inspire conduct, at least as much as in the relation of events, whether humorous, tragical, or striking in their complexity and unexpectedness, which in many cases had made practically the only point of these same novels in their Italian form. Their religious and moral preoccupations made it natural, moreover, that they should delight not only in sermonizing developments, but also in holding up examples for imitation and showing the reformation of the wicked. More especially, these preoccupations were on a par with a tendency to look upon love as a sentiment rather than as the purely sensual desire that it is most commonly with Bandello, to depict it as leading to lawful wedlock rather than to illicit unions, to set up examples of constancy rather than record breaches of faith, to hold the latter to detestation and point out their evil consequences rather than use them as a means of raising an immoral laugh. Thus it came to pass, no doubt, not only that their so-called *Histoires Tragiques* were made to include a good many of Bandello's romantic, optimistic novels, but also that in their hands his tragical and grim tales should have been so modified as no longer to be informed to the same extent by a pessimistic view of human nature and destiny.

The same features find themselves reproduced in the work of the English translators and adapters. It was natural that this should be so when they were content with a careful and accurate rendering of their French models. But when they showed some

independence from them, either leaving out passages or, more often, inserting into their stories rhetorical and moralizing developments of their own, they did nothing more than reach a further stage upon the road which the two Frenchmen had taken. Even when they went straight to Bandello's Italian text for some of their stories, they usually picked out such as best agreed with the spirit which his French translators had brought to their work and, whenever they altered them, did so in such a way as to make them conform even more closely to that same spirit ¹.

II

From *A. C. Mery Talys*, a collection of novels, published towards 1525, a large number of which were translated from the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, downward to *Westward for Smelts*, 1620, the various jest-books of the sixteenth century afford ample proof of the fact that the Renaissance Englishmen were not averse from the relation

1. While their moral preoccupations are already apparent from the analyses given in the preceding chapter, the extent and nature of their moralizing developments will be more fully indicated in the following pages. As regards their sentimental developments, it is interesting to note the description which Thomas Drant gave in 1567, at the very time when Painter and Fenton were bringing out their volumes of translations, of the usual contents of "amarouse Pamphlets", of which he asserted that "no bookes (were) so ryfe or so frindly red, as be these bokes". He had been at work upon a translation of Horace's *art of poetry*, *Epistles*, and *Satires*, and he remarks in the Epistle to the Reader that: "Certainelye Horace hymself is hard, and very hard, neyther any ma(n) which can judge, can judge it one & y^e like laboure, to tra(n)slate Horace, and to make, and translate a love booke, a shrill tragedye, or a smothe, and plat levyled poesye". For, he says: "The setting out of the wanton tricks, of a payre of lovers, (as for example let theym be cawled Sir Chaunticleare and Dame Partilote) to tell how their firste combination of love began, how their eyes floted, and howe they anchored, their beames mingled one w(ith) the others bewtye: then of their perplexed thougths, their throwes, their fancies their dryrye driftes, now interrupted, now unperfyted, their love dayes, their gaude dayes, their sugred words, and their sugred joyes. Afterward howe envyous fortune through this chop or that chaunce turned their bles to baile, severynge too such bewtyful faces & dewtiful harts, last at partynge to ad to an oration or twane interchangeably had betwixt the two wobegone persons, the one thicke powdered wyth manly passionat pangs, the other watered wyth wominishe teares: Then to shryne them up to god Cupid, and make Martirres of them both, and therwyth an ende of the matter. This and such lyke is easye to be understood and easye to be indyted". *Horace his Arte of poetrie, pistles, and Satyrs Englished... by Tho. Drant, 1567*.

of humorous and even licentious stories. Among the translators and adapters of Bandello, Painter at least had included in his *Palace of Pleasure*, more particularly in the first volume, tales of this description which he had borrowed from Boccaccio, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, Straparola and Marguerite de Navarre¹, and there are more of the same description in Rich's *Farewell to Militarie profession* and *Don Simonides*². In spite of this, however, not only did our Englishmen borrow from Bandello, either directly or indirectly, very few stories of the *fabliau* type, but only once did they produce under his guidance a genuine, unadulterated *fabliau*.

This unique example is the story of Phylotus and Emilia, in Rich's *Farewell to Militarie profession*. Here youth is pitted against old age, and triumphs all along the line by the sheer force of resolution and wit unhampered by any scruples. Nor is there anything to divert the attention from the unfolding of an intrigue laden with humorous incidents narrated in a free, easy, racy and simple style. Here are neither long moral disquisitions nor rhetorical developments. There are hardly any indeed in the whole collection. Rich does prefix his story of Apolonius and Silla with some moral remarks, but he soon brings them to an end with a promise that "that whiche I minde to write shall bee dooen with suche celeritie, as the matter that I pretende to penne maie in any wise permit me"³. Soon after, he shows himself mindful of his undertaking by writing, when Apolonius leaves the "Isle of Cypres" and the palace of Silla's father for his own country, and Silla despairs of ever seeing him again: "Gentlewomen, accordyng to my promise, I will here, for brevitie sake, omit to make repetition of the long and dolorous discourse recorded by Sylla for this sodaine departure of her Apolonius, knowyng you to bee as tenderly hearted as Silla her self, whereby you maie the better conjecture the furie of her fever"⁴. This practice he follows throughout. He is remarkably sparing in his use of ornaments. His heroes make very few speeches, and usually state whatever they may

1. Such are for instance tales 33, 34, 35, 36, 48, 49, 51 and 61 in the first volume, tale 31 in vol. II.

2. Such are in the *Farewell* the tale entitled "Of two brethren and their wives", and in *Don Simonides*, II, that of the duping by Orienta, with the help of her young lover Fulvius, of her aged pretender the banker Sertorius.

3. Ed. Shakespeare Society, p. 68.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

have to say simply and briefly. His stories are varied in tone ; some are quite romantic, and carry to final happiness, through most marvellous adventures, characters of sterling virtue¹ ; some might be made the text for a fine and telling sermon² ; others again are full of ingenious tricks and comical events and betray a remarkable callousness to moral issues³ ; but all have this in common that they are almost entirely free from rhetoric and moralizing. It is plain that the author's sole interest lies in the telling of his story with as few external embellishments or encumbrances as possible. Few works of the English Renaissance show to the same extent the reserve and detachment characteristic of the Italian *novellieri*.

The next work of Rich does not. This is *The Adventures of Don Simonides*. When in the first part of this book, which was published in 1581, Rich borrows from Bandello a novel which is in its essence a *fabliau*, he handles it in a way which reminds one of the manner of Belleforest and Boaistuau. Nor, supposing he did not use the Italian original, could this be ascribed to the influence of a French translator. For the only French version of Bandello's tale that he could have known at the time was, for once, an actual translation and not a rhetorical, sentimental and moralizing amplification.

With Bandello, the tale centred round the hoodwinking of the husband. Before coming to this, Rich expatiates at great length upon Proculus's wooing of Lamia and complacently describes the wiles and quotes the speeches of the go-between Monedula. There is noticeable in all this part of his narrative an insistence upon the feelings and their rhetorical expression, if not their analysis, which results in turning a tale that was originally nothing more than the bare relation of a deft intrigue into a love-pamphlet the interest of which is very largely psychological.

Here are also to be found moral preoccupations that are absent from the model provided by Bandello. Bandello's sympathy was evidently with the fair trickster as against her injured husband, and he seemed to hold up to his reader's admiration the ingenuity of the device that had enabled her maid to extricate her out of

1. Cf. Sappho, Duke of Mantona, Apolonius and Silla, Fineo and Fiamma, and Aramanthus.

2. Cf. Nicander and Lucilla, and Gonsales and his vertuous wife Agatha.

3. Cf. Phylotus and Emilia, and Of two brethren and their wives.

a tight corner. He showed the same indifference to moral issues as Ovid in the *Ars amatoria*, the same pagan delight in the success of an illicit love. With Rich it is quite otherwise. His heroine has little in common with Bandello's abandoned hussy. If she has sinned, she has been a victim of the wiles of others more than of her own bad instincts. And she has lived to experience a truly Christian repentance. She tells her story to Simonides in a church in which she has found him at his devotions in the habit of a pilgrim. Thus her relation assumes the form of a confession undertaken in a spirit of contrition. Of course the moralizing note is very much in evidence ¹.

The other *fabliaux* borrowed from Bandello are handled in very much the same spirit. One of these, as was clearly recognised by the author of *Westward for Smelts*, is the story of Zilia and the Lord of Virle. It is hardly anything more in Bandello himself, where most of the space is taken up with the account of Philiberto's revenge upon the hard-hearted lady. Following the lead of Belleforest, both Fenton and Painter prefix to this a long description, full of sentimental rhetoric, of the gentleman's infatuation, his earnest suit through letters and letter-bearers who make speeches and are answered, his sufferings, despairing soliloquies, complaints to his friends and the like. Thus again what is essentially a tale of a deft turning of the tables against a money-loving prude is made to bear the complexion of a love-pamphlet, and this shifting of the emphasis is mostly instrumental in ranging the story of Zilia in the category of those, essentially sentimental ones, that were devoted to the punishment of the ungracious ladies who sin against Cupid's law by refusing to return love for love.

The idealizing process goes even farther. Most of the rhetorical elements which Profr Schevill avers are characteristic of the Ovidian tale are indeed present in this tale also ². But in the first part at least there is nothing to show that Philiberto's love for Zilia is not entirely pure and noble. It has nothing in common with the lust, seeking its satisfaction through a cleverly managed

1. As a matter of actual fact, the change in Rich's tone and manner noticeable in this work was probably due to the influence of John Lyly's *Euphues*. But we mean to show later on that the love-passages in *Euphues* owe most of their features to the influence of the novels out of Bandello. Lyly would thus have done nothing more than pass this influence on to Rich.

2. Schevill, *Ovid and the Renascence in Spain*; cf. below, ch. III.

intrigue, that characterizes the heroes of both the *fabliaux* and the Renaissance tales and novels that drew their inspiration from the *Ars amatoria*.

Fenton for his part went one step still farther away from the realistic paganism common to both these "genres" by endeavouring to fit his own version of this story with a conclusion agreeing with Christian morals. Therein, as has been seen, he was not quite happy or convincing. But the infusion of a Christian element is more marked and successful in his account of the loves of Cornelio and Plaudina. Here again, in the Italian original, the main interest lay in the humour arising both from the situation occupied by Cornelio when, having been compelled to take refuge upon an iron bar up a chimney-flue while the house was being searched by the watch, he was no sooner freed from this inconvenience than he found himself threatened with a greater through the return of Plaudina's husband, and from the way in which the watch, returning once more to the house and taking the husband into custody, left the lovers at liberty to take their pleasure together. Bandello is content with barely recording in a brief introduction his hero and heroine's mutual love, and their grief when Cornelio has to leave Milan in order to escape from the French. As usual, Fenton greatly develops this part of the story. He shows the progress of their infatuation, and quotes at great length their letters and the soliloquies through which they vent their despair at the time of their enforced separation. Once again, in short, he balances a tale of intrigue full of a great variety of incidents with pages of sentimental analysis. Nor is this all. At Mantua, Cornelio is distinguished by a noble lady, and an old go-between solicits him in her behalf, but he remains firm in his resolve to keep faithful to Plaudina. It is true that this incident is borrowed from Bandello. But in the Italian novel Cornelio briefly answers the go-between and there the matter rests. Or rather the narrator, a certain Filippo Bosso who was a friend of Cornelio's, relates how some time after he vainly sought to convince him of the foolishness of his refusal. In Fenton's pages things bear a different complexion. Cornelio and the old woman bandy lengthy speeches, and he triumphantly rebuts all her arguments against constancy and loyalty. Thus, in spite of the illicit character of Cornelio's love for Plaudina, Fenton's tale shows nothing like Bandello's indifference to moral issues, to put it thus mildly, and the way is prepared

for Cornelio's resolve not to have anything to do in the future with such unlawful intrigues. In *Bandello*, on the contrary, nothing corresponds to this except a statement to the effect that "la notte montato a cavallo se n'andò a la volta di Bergamo e Brescia ed indi a Mantova, non volendo più far il viaggio che prima fatto aveva per dubbio di non incontrar i mali spiriti per camino" ¹. And so once more a tale instinct with the paganism of the Italian Renaissance has been so modified as to make room for the moral preoccupations of the English Reformation.

Perhaps one should also see a sign of the strength of these preoccupations in the fact that, with the story of the Lord of Virle, the only true *fabliau* borrowed from *Bandello* by Painter should be one in which two gentlewomen of Venice resort to their genius for plotting and contriving in a successful effort to preserve their own and their husbands' honour. At any rate, he prefixes it with reflections of his own designed to point out that "if search bee made amonges antiquities, it is to be doubted wheather greater chastity, and better pollicy could be founde for accomplishment of an intended purpose" than in the case of these two ladies, and that if "many deedes have ben done by women for savegard of their Husbandes lyves", we seldom read that "sutch have prevented their husband's folly" ². He also upon occasion interpolates moral

1. *Novelle*, ed. Brognoligo, I, 408.

2. Ed. Jacobs, III, 125. The whole passage runs as follows: "Heere have I thought good to summon 2 Gentlewomen of Venice to appeare in Place, and to mount on Stage amongs other Italian Dames to shew cause of their bolde incourtrey agaynst the Folly of their two Husbands, that uncharitably without respect of neyghbourhoode, went about to assayle the honesty of eyther's wyfe, and weening they had enjoyed others felicity, by the womens prudence, foresight and ware government, were both deceived, and yet attayned the chieffest benefit that mariage state doth looke for: so that if search bee made aniongcs antiquities, it is to be doubted wheather greater chastity, and better pollicy could be founde for accomplishment of an intended purpose. Many deedes have ben done by women for savegard of their Husbandes lyves, as that of the Minyae, a sort of Women whose husbandes were imprisoned at Lacedaemon, and for treason condemned, who to save their lives, entred into prison the night before they should dy, and by exchange of apparell, delivered them, and remayned there to suffer for them. Of Hipsicratea also the Queene and Wyfe of Mithridates king of Pontus, who spared not hir Noble beauty and golden lockes to manure hir selfe in the use of armes, to keepe hir husband company in perils and daungers: and being overcome by Pompeius, and flying away, never left him unaccompanied, ne forsooke sutch travayle as he himselfe sustayned. The like also of Æmilia, Turia, Sulpitia, Portia, and other Romane Dames. But that sutch have prevented their husband's folly, seldomè we reade, saving of Queene Marie, the Wife of Don Pietro king of Arragon,

considerations into the narrative¹. And to complete the resemblance between this novel of his and those that have just been reviewed, he inserts into it a piece of verse of his own devising, supposed to be written by one of the two lustfully inclined husbands in praise of his neighbour's wife².

who marking the insolency of hir husband, and sory for his disordred life, honest jealousy opening hir continent eyes, forced hir to seeke meanes to remove his wanton acts, or at leastwise by pollicy and wise foresight to make him husbände and culture his own soyle, that for want of seasonable tillage was barren and voyde of fruitte. Wherefore consulting with the Lord chamberlayne, who of custome brought whom the king liked best, was in place of his woman bestowd in his Bed, and of her that night begat the yong Prynce Giacomo, that afterwarde proved a valiaunte, and wise king. These passing good pollicies of women many times abolish the frantik lecherous fits of husbands gieven to superfluous lusts, when first by their chast behaviour and womanly patience they contayne that which they be loth to see or heare of, and then demanding counsell of sobriety and wisdom, excogitate sleights to shun folly, and expell discourtesie, by husbände's carelesse use. Sutch practises, and devises, these two Gentlewomen whom I now bringe forth, disclose in this discourse ensuing".

1. After recording, for instance, how Mistrisse Lucia and Mistrisse Isotta, the two gentlewomen, "wente to seeke mistrisse Gismonda and when they had debated upon the trouthe of these events, concluded with one assent to provide for the safegarde and deliverye of theyr husbändes", he goes on as follows, by way of moral commentary: "wherein they shewed themselves both wise and honest. For what state is more honorable and of greater Comforte than the married Lyfe, if in deede they that have yoked themselves therein be conformable to those Delightes, and contentation which the same conduceth? Wealth and Riches maketh the true unyted couple to rejoyce in the Benefits of Fortune, graunted by the sender of the same, either of them providing for disposing thereof, against the decipite time of olde age, and for the bestowing of the same upon the Fruicte accrued of theyr Bodies. Poverty in any wise dothe not offend them, both of them glad to laboure and travaile like one Body, to sustaine theyr poore and neady Lyfe, eyther of them Comfortably doth Minyster comforte in the cruell tyme of Adversity, rendring humble thanks to God for hys sharp Rodde and Punysment enflited upon them for their manyfolde sinnes commytted againste hys majesty, travailing by night and Daye by sweatinge Browes to get browne Breade, and drynke ful thin to cease the Cryes and pytifull cravinges of their tender Babes, wrapt in Cradle and instant on their mother to fill their hungry mōuthes. Adverse fortune maketh not one to forsake the other. The loving Wyfe ceaseth not by paynfull sute to trot and go by Night and day in heate and colde to relieve the miserye of hir husband. He likewise spareth not his payne to get and gayne the livyng of them both. He abrode and at homē according to his called state, she at home to save the Lucre of that Labor, and to doe sutch necessary travayle incident to the married kinde. He carefull for to get, she heedeful for to save, he by trafique and Arte, shee by diligence and housholde toile. O the happy state of married folke: O surpassing delights of marriage bed: which maketh these II. poore Gentlewomen, that by honorable pollicy saved the honor of themselves and honesty of theyr husbändes, to make humble sute for their preservation, who were like to be berieved of their greatest comforts". (Jacobs, III, 143-44).

2. *Ibid.*, 129-30.

III

At first sight the tragical stories borrowed from Bandello would not seem to lend themselves very readily to the same idealizing treatment. Some of them seem to derive their inspiration from nothing except a love of the horrible, ghastly and blood-curdling for their own sakes, and they have this character in their English as well as in their Italian form. Such are, for instance, Painter's account of the way in which Faustina was cured of her passion for a gladiator, or Fenton's description of the blind fury with which Pandora mangled and hacked the innocent fruit of her unlawful intercourse with Parthenope. Or the story, preserved only in a ballad, of the revenge executed by a "black morrion" upon the family of the master who had punished him over-severely for a slight misdeed. Or finally the tales, translated by R. Smythe, of the punishment meted out to an over-avaricious priest, and of the events that involved the Sultan of Orme and his family in a bloody ruin. The others are more mixed in character, and make room in varying degrees for a milder and a softer strain. But they all have this in common that they reveal an essentially gloomy conception of human nature and destiny. To be sure, there are young girls who are chaste, loving and constant, and who meet with young men equally praiseworthy. But, like Juliet and Romeo, Camilla and Livio, Carmosyna and Perillo, most of them are ruined and blasted in the very hour when they were expecting to be happy together; nor did Sophonisba meet with a better fate after winning the love of Massinissa. There are honest ladies and girls, such as the Countess of Salisbury and Fenton's Janiquetta, who resist those who lust after them without suffering any harm from it. But, even though they escape without final harm, the Duchess of Savoy and Painter's nameless "lady falsely accused" are because of their resistance put in jeopardy of their lives, whereas Micca and Julia are fain to seek refuge from dishonour into death, and Parolyna only escapes both by the narrowest breadth. Few indeed are those who receive, for the wrongs which they have suffered, such compensation as the miller's daughter ravished by one of the noblemen of the Duke of Florence. For they live in a world in which passions run dangerously high. Mahomet shows

himself able to master his own, but he does so at the price of murdering the fair Greek captive whom he loved. And most men are lustful, guileful and cruel. Both Pancalier and the servant of the "lady falsely accused" contrive, when their dishonest advances have been rejected, a wicked plot for the ruin of their ladies, and Pancalier does not hesitate to run his sword through a kinsman of his in order to give a greater colour of truth to his accusation. Of course, when such men have had to suffer a real wrong, they are implacable in their revenge. Sometimes the blow falls upon the culprits with the swiftness of lightning, and there is hardly any heightening, or rather darkening, of the colours (cf. R. Smyth, tale 4). But at others, as in the story of the Lady of Turin, the punishment is administered with grim, cool determination and a really fiendish refinement of cruelty. Or, as in the case of the Duchess of Malfi and her second husband, vengeance unrelentingly hunts its victims from place to place, through year after year, to their final destruction. While in "The Lords of Nocera", again, the injured party entices his future victims into a trap where he butchers them with appalling frenzy.

A like frenzy and a like delight in mangling and hacking are characteristic, not only of the Albanese Captain who, in the words of Fenton, kills his wife "because no man sholde enjoye her beantie after his death", but also of Violenta after she has been betrayed by Didaco. For there is little to choose in these novels between the women and the men. They are no better able to control their passions than the men. And with them as with the men love is sometimes a purely sensual appetite. This it is that drives the Duchess of Malfi into the second marriage that is the source of all her future misfortunes, and the Lady of Chabrye into adultery, with its train of murders heaped upon murders. As for the Countess of Celant, she is an epitome of all the worst impulses that can find harbour in a feminine heart. A gloomy atmosphere indeed!

In some cases, there is even to be noticed in the English versions a deepening of the sombre colours of the Italian original. Thus, in the story of Didaco and Violenta, nothing corresponds in the Italian to the fact that, after mangling Didaco's body, Violenta throws it out of the window into the street, and enters upon the scene the next morning to tell the passers-by, who have gathered round it wondering whose it may be, that she can tell them but

will only speak before a magistrate. If there is no truth in his claim that he had, for his relation of this story, taken Valentinus Barruchius for his model, this was Boaiustau's own invention, and in this case he must be credited with a fine sense for dramatically effective, if somewhat theatrical, situations and developments. In the same way Belleforest had dipped his brush into darker colours than Bandello when depicting the murderous frenzy of the Albanese captain, the hero of Fenton's 4th Discourse, who, bent upon suicide, savagely stabs his wife with a dagger, and kills himself upon her body with a sort of fiendish joy, after having it from her own lips that she would not survive him. Bandello (I, 51) gives nothing more than this bare record of events :

"Il crudele ed inumano albanese, preso un pugnol bolognese che nel letto aveva recato quando di camera uscì, diede a la donna su la testa una pugnolata e in quello stesso instante un'altra a sé nel petto, e così or sé or la moglie ferendo, la poverella e mal avventurosa moglie con bassa ed interrotta voce disse : — Oimè, io son morta, — non piú. Allora il fiero moglicida dandosi del pugnale nel mezzo del core cacciò la brutta e sceleratissima anima a casa di cento milia diavoli, e la misera e disgraziata donna restò piú morta che viva" (ed. Brognoligo, II, 229).

Belleforest's relation is at the same time longer, more particular and less matter-of-fact :

« Ce cruel tyran ... prit sa dague, & embrassant, & baisant (du baiser de Judas) sa femme, luy en donna de toute sa force sur la teste, & encor luy feit plusieurs autres playes profondes, & cruelles, par divers endroits de son chaste corps. Et en l'instant, & par mesme moyen, il se passa le fer (encor sanglant, & trempé au sang innocent de sa belle espouse) par le milieu de l'estomach : & ainsi qu'il estoit en son extremité, tendant au dernier soupir, il monstroit un signe fort grand de plaisir, & allegresse, pour se voir accompagné à la mort par celle, qu'il ne pouvoit laisser (sans extreme regret) en vie... Ce pendant mourut l'infortuné, & execrable jaloux, lequel envoya son ame avec ses semblables Caïn, & Judas, au ranc des desesperez ». (Hist. 10, f^{os} 91-92).

This is certainly less simple than Bandello's account. But apparently it was still too simple for Fenton's taste. He shows the captain :

"whettyng his teeth for the terrible suggestion of the devill, who at th'istante put into his hande the dagger ; wherewith, after he had embraced and kissed her, in such sorte as Judas kissed our Lorde the same night he betrayed him, he saluted her with ten or xii estockados, one in the necke of another (*sic*) in diverse partes of her bodye,

renewynge the conflict with no lesse number of blowes in her head and armes ; and because no parte shoulde escape free from the stroke of his malice, he visyted her white and tender legges, with no lesse rage and furye then the rest. Wherewith, beholdinge in her diverse undoubted argumentes of death, began the lyke warre wyth hymselfe, usinge the same meane and ministers with his owne handes, enbrewed yet with the bloode of his innocent wyfe ; shewyng (notwithstandyng this horrible part and acte of dispaire) diverse and sondrye signes of speciall gladnes and pleasure in his face, wherin he contynued till the laste and extreame gaspe of lyfe—chieflic for that he sawe him accompanied to death with her whome he was not hable to leave behinde hym on lyve..."

And he no less amplifies and heightens the account of his death :

"The cursed and execrable Albanoyes (so whollie possessed with the devill that the gyfte of grace was denied him) abhorred to the laste mynute of his lyfe the remembrance of repentance ; for, laughinge (as it were) at the fowlenes of the facte, even untill life left him senceles and voyde of breathe, he commended his carkes to the gredie jawes of ravenous wolves, serving also as a fyt praie for the venemous serpentes and other crepinge wormes of the earthe, and his soule to the reprobate socyetie of Judas and Cayne, with other of th'infernall crewe". (ed. Douglas, I, 189).

A little before, in a passage almost entirely original with him that strangely contrasts with Bandello's simple : "Egli di nuovo ritornò a le lagrime ed ai sospiri", a simplicity which for once Belleforest had imitated, he had depicted in most vivid terms the agitation of his hero when preparing to murder his fair wife :

"Fallinge from his former complaintes of sicknes, he retired into tearmes of extreme frenezy and madnes, brainge out such groanes and sighes of hideus disposicion, with owlyng, cryeng, and foaminge at the mouth, like one possessed with an evill spirit, that who had seene his often change of coollor and complexion in his face, his ghastly regardes arguinge ententes of desperacion, and his eyes (flaming with furye) sonke into his head, with the order of his passion every waye, mighte easely have judged the desyer of his harte to be of no smal importance, and the thyng he went about neither common nor commendable". (ed. Douglas, I, 188).

It is not surprising that passages in this vein should have been written, at a time when foreign visitors noted the brutal and sanguinary character of the favourite amusements of the English¹,

1. See Jusserand, *Shakespeare en France sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1898, ch. I.

by and for the men of a generation who delighted in reading the tragedies of Seneca and who were soon, in Nashe's phrase, to extract from him whole "handfulls of Tragicall speeches", "to let (him) bloud line by line and page by page" ¹, and to applaud the violence, rant and bombast of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, and of *Titus Andronicus*. By delineating such characters, whose passions knew no bounds and who were always carried to extremities in whatever they felt, did, or said, the English writers of the sixteenth century also testified to the success with them, at least for literary purposes, of the Italian concept of *virtù*. But the lack of restraint with which they endowed their heroes, or depicted their good or evil qualities, may also have been the result of their training in a rhetoric which always strove after the strongest effects and consistently taught that, in matters literary at least, it is not possible to have too much of a good thing. There is a clearly recognisable rhetorical ring in that sentence of Fenton's in which he consigns the body, nay, the carcass of his infuriated captain both to the jaws of ravenous wolves and to the venomous serpents and other creeping worms of the earth, and his soul to the society of the reprobate. Rhetoric, at least as much as the wish to analyse the emotions of the heart, also inspires a passage such as the following, again an original one with him, in which Fenton attempts to describe the conflicting emotions of his hero just before the final butchering scene :

"Wherein (*i.e.* in the wish to kill both his wife and himself) he was assisted with iii enemies of diverse dispositions, love, jealousie, and death : the least of the whiche is sufficient of himselfe to make a man chafe in his harneys, and take away the courage of his hart in the midst of the combat. For the one presented a certaine feare by reason of the horroure of the acte ; the other sewed (as it were) for an abstinence, or at least a moderacion, of the crueltie he had commenced against his innocent wif ; but the third, being the beginner of al, and excedinge the rest in power, wolde not dismisse him from the stage till he had playd th'uttermost acte of his malicious tragedie". (ed. Douglas, I, 188).

In the case of the English translators of Bandello, however, the deepening of the sombre colours may have resulted chiefly from a wish to make the moral more telling, just as in the religious writings

1. Nashe's preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589 ; cf. *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by R. B. McKerrow, London, 1903-1910, III, 315-16.

of the time the torments of Hell are depicted in the most lurid hues so as to strike a greater terror in the hearts of frail sinning mortality. They doubtless felt that, if evil was to be made hateful, it could not be depicted under too dark colours. For in these tragical stories their moral preoccupations are always very much to the fore, leading them into long sermonizing developments that are hardly ever paralleled in the Italian originals, and causing them always to cap their tales with a moral that in most instances one would look for in vain in Bandello's versions of the same stories. It is quite natural that they should do so when recording such deeds of frenzied violence as mark the conclusion of the stories of Didaco and Violenta, of the Lords of Nocera, of Parthenope and Pandora, of the cruelty of the punishment meted out to the adulterous "Lady of Turin". For these tales lend themselves easily and naturally to being turned into *exempla*, calculated to point out the evil effects arising from lustful courses, adulterous intrigues and treacherous practices with a force that is in a direct ratio to the violence and cruelty with which they are instinct. Or, again, one does not experience any great difficulty in following the English translators when they turn into occasions for preaching sermons upon continence the story of Sophonisba and Massinissa and, driven to a second marriage as she was because she found herself unable to withstand in her widowed state the promptings of the flesh, that of the Duchess of Malfi. But they carry their edifying preoccupations very much farther, and show themselves bent upon drawing some sort of moral from their stories even when they have to record the destruction, by some untoward fate rather than through some human agency, of a couple of pure, youthful lovers who would seem to deserve the reader's pity much more than his censure. Fenton makes the death of Livio and Camilla in each other's arms the occasion for moral reflections upon the danger of yielding to too strong passions and being led by the wish to gratify them into secret unions that should be avoided by dutiful children and sound Christians¹. Arthur Brooke for his part informs his

1. This moral is indeed much more clearly stated by Fenton than by Belleforest. As against Belleforest's: « Heureuse maniere de mort, si l'on n'avoit à considerer que l'aise de l'union de ceux qui s'entr'aiment, & qui n'ont point moyen d'effectuer leur amour, ou en ayant jouy, continuer le plaisir de jouyssance », (Hist. 22, fo 111), Fenton has the following: "A happye kynde of deathe, yf wee had not to cosyder the perill whyche attendes suche wretches as, having no meane to

reader, in a prefatory epistle to his translation of the story of Romeo and Juliet, that :

"To this ende (good Reader) is this tragicall matter written, to describe unto thee a couple of unfortunate lovers, thralling themselves to dishonest desire, neglecting the authoritie and advise of parents and frendes, conferring their principall counsels with dronken gossypes, and superstitious friers (the naturally fitte instrumentes of unchastitie) attemptyng all adventures of peryll, for thattayning of their wished lust, usyng auriculer confession (the kay of whoredome, and treason) for furtheraunce of theyr purpose, abusyng the honorable name of lawefull mariage, to cloke the shame of stolne contractes, finallye, by all meanes of dishonest lyfe, hastyng to most unhappy deathe. This president (good Reader) shalbe to thee, as the slaves of Lacedemon, oppressed with excesse of drinke, deformed and altered from likenes of men, both in mynde, and use of body, were to the free borne children, so shewed to them by their parentes, to thintent to rayse in them an hatefull lothyng of so filthy beastlynes. Hereunto if you applye it, ye shall deliver my dooing from offence, and profit your selves".

Nor is this mere pretence. At least Brooke intersperses his narrative, all along, with moral remarks of his own. They are particularly numerous in the latter part of his poem, where on the contrary, and especially after the death of Juliet, he considerably abridges the relation of the actual happenings. It is fairly clear that, if he was not indifferent to the wonderful, romantic, or moving nature of the events that he recorded, he was also interested in the lesson that could be derived from them as to what course of action young people were best to follow.

The trouble is that, in cases like these, one cannot help feeling that the moral is somewhat far-fetched. Still, it must be owned that it preserves some sort of a relation with the story that it caps. But other moralizing developments are mere digressions. Before making his love known to the lady whom he will later on murder so brutally, for instance, Fenton's Albanese Captain finds her in

performe th'effect of their pleasure but by unlafull stealthe, are so franke for the shortnes of their tyme, that, in satisfyng the glot of their gredye appetit, they make no conscience to sacrifice ther owne lyfe"; (ed. Douglas, I, 125). To which he adds a little lower down : "Yt is not the part of a Christian (as the Appostle affirmeth) to prefer the fyckle pleasures of the flesh, whych are of shorter moment then the thoughtes of a man, afore the feare of God, recke of our life, and care to present our sowles without spot afore the troane of mercie in the daye of generall accompte, when all thoughtes shal bee deciphered and no falte unpunished", (*Ibid.*, 126).

her widowhood so modest, reserved and prudent in her behaviour that, though he shows by many signs how much he loves her, she does not give him the least opportunity for paying his addresses to her, and he is fain to ask her brother, a friend of his with whom she lives, to help him win her acceptance of him as a husband. This furnishes the occasion for a speech, discovering according to the marginal note "th'office of true frendshippe where it consists", that is in no way related to the main trend of the story. At the beginning of the story of Antonio Perillo and Carmosyna, again, Fenton interpolates a similar speech in which "certeine his friends" eloquently remonstrate with Perillo, who is dissipating his fortune in gambling, for his too much frequenting the dicing-house. And there is an instance of the same kind, among others, in Painter's story of the Lords of Nocera, when the youngest of the three brothers addresses to the Governor of the County, to whom he has gone for help against the rebellious captain of the citadel, a speech full of considerations upon the rules of good and wise government, that is meant to convince him of his duty to uphold the authority of his subordinates.

Now the only possible effect of such digressions is to draw the reader's attention away from the main tragic issue and, however violent a complexion the tragic incidents may be made to bear, weaken the force of their impact upon his mind. Nay, whether related to the story or not, all these moralizing developments have the same effect. It is no doubt essential to his moral purpose that when relating the story of the Duchess of Malfi Painter should enter into long arguments upon the question of unequal marriages¹.

1. Bandello for his part had been content with stating that after becoming a widow this lady, "ritrovandosi di poca età, gagliarda e bella e vivendo dilicatamente, né le parendo ben maritarsi e lasciar il figliuolo sotto altrui governo, si pensò di volersi trovare, s'esser poteva, qualche valoroso amante e con quello goder la sua gioventù". (Ed. Brognoligo, I, 347), and finally rested her choice upon her steward Antonio Bologna. That he noticed and returned her love is briefly expressed in this sentence: "Il Bologna, che punto non era scempio né dormiglione, quantunque a tanta altezza non si conoscesse pari, essendosi de l'amor di lei accorto, l'aveva per sí fatto modo nei segreti del core ricevuta che da ogni altra cura fuor che d'amarla aveva l'animo rimosso". (*Ibid.*, 348). In Painter's pages on the contrary the duchess first launches forth into a soliloquy in which she reproaches herself for not being able to control the ardors which she feels in her veins. Then she settles her choice upon Bologna. Understanding that his mistress loves him he debates with himself, through another soliloquy, whether he ought to answer her love and aspire to the possession of a lady so far above him. While she on her

Or again when, in the story of Massinissa and Sophonisba, Scipio not only delivers for the benefit of the African king a long speech in praise of continence meant to persuade him to give up the vanquished queen, but also favours him with a long moral harangue after he has sent her a poisoned cup, all this to be sure agrees with the moral reflections, original with him, with which Painter had opened the tale, and in which he proclaimed that :

"If men would have afore consideration of theyr owne doings, before they do attempt the same, or els premeditate and study the scope and successe thereof, I do verely beleeeve that a numbre would not cast themselves headlong into so many gulfs of miseryes and calamities as they do, specially Noblemen, and Prynces, who oftentimes doe excede in temerity and rashnesse, by lettynge the Raynes of theyr own Lustes, to farre to raunge at large, wherein they deeply Plunge theymselves to theyr great Prejudice and Dishonour, as teacheth thys goodly hystorie ensuinge..." (ed. Jacobs, II, 236).

But the result of all such moralization is that, when viewed as a whole, the tales of his translators are less truly tragical than those of Bandello. With him, the chain of tragic events was indeed the only thing that mattered. In the English versions, on the contrary, even supposing this chain not to have become incidental to an edifying purpose that in some cases it is made to subserve at the cost of some artificiality, the moralizing comments always intervene to draw the reader's attention away from it.

This is so even though the tragic incidents bear in the English a darker complexion than they have in the Italian. Such indeed is not always the case : the final butchering scene in the story of Didaco and Violenta, for instance, is less brutal in Boastuau and in Painter than in Bandello. But this point matters little. For as a general rule the attitude of the English translators towards the authors of the deeds of violence is such again as to make the stories less essentially tragic in their hands than in those of the Italian writer. They cannot refrain from expressing their horror and reprobation of them. Bandello leaves the story of the Albanese captain without a moral. Both Belleforest and Fenton on the contrary condemn the jealous fury that made him a murderer of a loving, virtuous wife. But whereas Belleforest inclines to think

part deliberates, and this is the occasion for one more soliloquy, whether she should so demean herself, in spite of her steward's excellent qualities, as to marry so much below her station.

that some good arose out of it ¹, Fenton will not have it that evil can be productive of good. He for his part unequivocally states his disapprobation of the Captain's deed in words in which worldly considerations curiously mix with others of a more ideal order. If, he writes :

"If this wretched Albanoy hadde made a view of himselfe and his forces, afore he became subject to the humor of jalouse suspicion, or if he had given correction to his falte in tyme, and suffred reason to suppress the rage of his follie afore he was growen to tearmes of madnes, he had enjoyed his ladie at pleasure, lyved yet in quiet, and prevented the fowle note of infamie wherewith the gates and posternes of his house wil be painted, till th'extreme date of the world ; and eschewed the peril of dampnable dispair in killing himselfe, with like violacion and bloddie slaughter of his innocent lady". (ed. Douglas, I, 190-91).

Thomas Achelley on his side draws from the story of Didaco and Violenta the conclusion that :

Hap glad or sad, hap weal or woe, / hap hoped joy, or payne :
Yet both in this one issue end, / *in love nought is but vayne.*

He furthermore inveighs against the murderous, infuriated lady in the following good set terms (F^{os} F 2 and 3) :

O monstrous hellish hagge, that forth / from *Plutoes* kingdome brake :
O hydeous hissing *Hydra* huge, / that lurkes in *Lerna* lake.
O bitchfox sprong of serpents seede, / and not of humayne stocke :
But fosterd up in desert groves, / within some holowe rocke :
Where fostered thou waste with milke, / from ramping tygers dugge :
Which thou amongst the craggy cliffes, / with savage chappes didst
The raging senceles Lions brode, / within themselves agree : [tugge.
Detesting all against their makes, / injurious for to bee.
But thou deriv'd of humayne race, / endued with reason to :
Adventurest upon such factes, / as they abhorre to doe.
O curtall curst, of woman kind, / unworthy of the name :
But aye for to be bated at, / with trumpe of blacke defame".

And this is how Paintèr for his part comments upon the implacable hatred that hunted down to their death, from town to town and

1. Histoire 10, F^{os} 93-94 : « Car ou'la furieuse jalousie de ce mary enragé, n'eust glorifiée la chasteté de sa dame'en l'occiant, le nom d'icelle, & memoire de sa beauté, seroient assoupiz, & engloutiz sous les abismes tenebreux d'une perpetuelle oubliance : là ou, au contraire, elle vivra d'une memoire immortelle apres sa mort, & un temps infiny apres le terme expiré de ses ans : servant de miroir ta(n)t aux hommes que femmes, prese(n)s, & advenir ».

through year after year, the Duchess of Malfi, her wretched babes and her unfortunate husband :

"Behold here how far the cruelty of man extendeth, when it coveteth nothing else but vengeance, and marke what excessyve choler the mind of them produceth, whych suffer themselves to be forced and overwhelmed with fury. Leave we apart the cruelty of Eucherates, the Sonne of the kinge of Bactria, and of Phraates the Sonne of the Persian Prynce, of Timon of Athenes, and of an infinit number of those which were rulers and governors of the Empyre of Rome : and let us match with these Aragon brethren, one Vitoldus Duke of Lituania, the cruelty of whom, constrained his own subjects to hang themselves for feare leaste they should fall into his furious and bloody hands. We may confesse also these brutall brethren to be more butcherly than ever Otho Erle of Monferrato, and prince of Urbin was, who caused a yeoman of his chamber to be wrapped in a sheete poudred with sulphur and brimstone, and afterwards kindled with a Candle, was scalded and consumed to death, bicause he waked not at an hour by him appointed : let us not excuse them also from some affinity with Manfredus the sonne of Henry the second emperor, who smoldered hys own father, being an old man, between two Coverlets. These former furies might have some excuse to cover their cruelty, but these had no other color but a certain beastly madnesse which moved them to kil those litle Children their nephews, who by no means could prejudice or anoy the Duke of Malfi or his title, in the succession of his Duchie, the mother having withdrawen hir goods, and had her dowrie assigned hir : but a wicked hart wrapt in malice must nedes bring forth semblable workes". (ed. Jacobs, III, 38-39).

Now there is hardly ever anything like this in Bandello. He states the facts and hardly ever comments upon them. Least of all in this vein. It is as if he meant to imply that such deeds are in the natural order of things. At any rate, he is able to view them without a shudder of horror or a passion of revolt, in a way that makes it appear that he is not far from being reconciled with them as with an unavoidable evil. His English translators are not, but against such deeds feel bound to register their protest. They are less cynical than he. And in the same proportion the tragical stories are in their hands less essentially tragic than in his.

Nor is this the only sign that they were of a more sentimental and idealistic turn of mind than he was. In his fourth Discourse for instance, Fenton cannot let the matter rest with the condemnation of his jealous, murderous hero. He turns from it to the praise of the worthy and unhappy gentlewoman his wife, and there

a marginal note informs the reader that he is about to favour him with a description of the "giftes which ought to appeare in an honest woman". As thus :

"A lady or gentlewoman equal with her in conversacion everye way—I meane chast without argument of dishonestie, devowt and yet hatinge supersticion, bountifull without wasteful prodigalitie, wise without vaine vaunting, so obediente towardes her husbände as was necessarie, and lastlie lackinge the furniture of no good vertue—can not be to much honored in her life, nor worthely renowned after her death ; as wel for that such rare gifts are no lesse meritorious for the vertues that be in theim, then that they serve as special allurementes to provoke younge ladies and gentlewomen (desyrours of like glorye) to ymytat th'exemple and vertues of them whose due fame is hable to excede the length of time and lyve after deathe". (ed. Douglas, I, 191).

And if he finally extracts from the captain's misdeeds a lesson for husbands, yet his very last words are to offer the wife's virtue as an example to his fair readers :

"As her life and deathe ymporte severall vertues, and deserve semblable commendacion (the one for that shee never made showe of mislike, what wronge so ever hee wroughte her ; the other in that shee failed not to honor him til the laste hower of his life) so may you also descerne therein ii severall exaumples : the one to warne the lighte and hare-brained husbändes not easelie, or for smal occasions, to enter into suspicion with their wyves ; whom they ought to love and honoure no lesse thenne theimselfes ; the other to presente unto the ladyes of oure tyme the due rewarde of wysedome, obedience, and chastetie, which be the thinges that make this Greeke lyve after her deathe, beinge worthelye invested wythe the wreathes of honoure amonge all the ladies of that contreye". (*Ibid.*, 191-92).

From this it would seem that, however more lurid he might make the tragic scenes, Fenton liked to dwell upon what was morally comforting and worthy of admiration at least as much as upon what raised unpleasant feelings of detestation and horror. The greater part of this tragical novel of his, indeed, is devoted to setting up a model for all women to imitate. The very first pages describe at great length not only the extraordinary beauty of the lady, but also her virtuous disposition, which nothing equals but her beauty, and the perfect felicity, too soon ruined, of her first marriage¹. She is no less admirable in her widowhood than she

1. This is but briefly stated by Bandello : "Prese costui per moglie una gentil-

had been in her married life, and this it is, together with her beauty, which causes the Albanese captain to fall in love with her. At this point Bandello briefly mentions her brother's successful pleading with her in the captain's interest in one sentence :

"Quello stesso giorno parlò con la sorella, a la quale seppe tanto dir e fare e sí bene persuaderla che ella consentí di rimaritarsi". (ed. Brognoligo, II, 227).

donna che anco ella era di Grecia, venuta pure de la città di Modone, e si chiamava Regina, giovane di tanta e sì incredibil bellezza dotata che da tutti era detta "la greca Elena". Era poi oltra l'estrema beltà in modo costumata e gentile e di tanta onestà di quanta altra donna si ritrovasse. Il perché dal marito sommamente amata ed accarezzata, se ne viveva molto contenta." (ed. Brognoligo, II, 226) ; and even by Belleforest : « Or ce seigneur Barze avoit espousé une Modonoise, que lon appelloit la Royne, laquelle estoit si belle, & de tant bonne grace, que communeme(n)t on l'appelloit la Grecque Heleine. Encor à ceste beauté singuliere estoit conjointe une vertu & courtoisie bien grande, qui faisoit qu'un chacun l'admiroit comme un chef d'œuvre de Nature. De quoy le mary s'estinoit heureux par dessus sa fortune, & l'aymoit autant, que homme sçauroit aymer son espouse, qui causoit un grand contentement en l'esprit de la belle Grecque ». (Histoire 10, fo 81). Fenton goes into very much greater developments, especially of a moralizing kind : "Enjoyinge thus the benefyt of his vertue—who commonly yeldes no lesse successe to suche as imbrace her with true ymytacion, and treade the pathe of her loare with semblable sinceritie of mynde—he had there with him at the same instante his wyfe, beinge also of Modona, derived of no lesse nobyltye then he, and nothings inferiour in all gyftes of nature and ornamentes of vertue. For touchinge her bewtie, seaming of suche wonderfull perfection that it was thoughte nature was dryven to the ende of her wittes in framinge a pecé of so great excellencie, they dowed not to geve her therby the tytyle of the faire Helene of Grece. Nether was she lesse meritorious for her vertues ; being blessed therwith so plentifully at the handes of th'Almighty, that it was doubted to the writers of that tyme whether God or nature deserved the greatest prayes in forminge so perfecte a creature. If this were a consolation and singular contentment of the pore Modonoise—waighinge earste in the ballance of his unhappye fortune, denied anye more to enjoye the fredome of his contrye, dryven by force from the auncient succours and solace of his frendes, wandringe in wooddes and deserte places unknowne, and (that whiche worse is) lefte onely to the mercie of hunger and coulde, with expectation to fall eftesones into the handes of hys enemyes ; and nowe to bee taken from the malice of all theis miseries and restored to a place of abode, richesse and entertainment sufficient for sustentation, to beare office and authoritie amongeste the best, and rampierd besydes within th'assured good will and opinion of the chiefe governor of a contreye—I appeale to th'opinions of those who earst have changed their miserable condicion, or state of adversytye, with the benefyt and goodnes of the lyke fortune. Or if, againe, he had cause to rejoyce and make sacrifice to his fortune, that had gyven hym a wyfe, noted to be the odd image of the worlde for beautye, behaviour, courtesey, and uprighte dealyng, constant wythout cause or argument of dishonesty, and that (whiche is) the chieftest ornament and decoracion of the beautie of a woman) to bee of disposition readye to obeye her husbände, yeldinge hym suffraintye with a deutfull obedience, with other vertues that made her an admiration to the whole

Things could not be expedited so fast by Fenton. With him, before being finally won over by her brother's pleading, whose arguments are of course developed at some length, the lady must first object that it would be unseemly in her to marry so soon after her first husband's death and expose herself to the reproach of incontinency, then invoke the authority of "the apostle" and of St Augustine against second marriages, and finally assure her brother that she feels herself "assisted with the spirite of grace" plentifully enough to be sure that she will be able "to withstande all temptations and vaine assaultes which the wicked instigations of the flesh may here after minister unto (her)" ¹. And so to the end he makes her display the virtues which his final words will propose to the admiration of his fair readers. There are in this novel, to be sure, deeds "so straunge and terrible as they be able to affright the stoutest", as Painter had put it, but there is also a picture of a virtuous, loving and gentle woman the consideration of which could but be pleasant to the sentimentally inclined reader. The final tragic scene is treated in Bandello's novel with a more sparing hand. But the portrait of the virtuous lady is even less insistently brought to the attention of the reader. On the whole, the emphasis is shifted in such a way that Bandello's original novel remains more essentially tragic than Belleforest's and Fenton's French and English versions.

The greater idealism of Bandello's English translators also shows in the way they have of causing their wicked characters to make an edifying end. For in such cases Bandello mostly remained content with depicting the havoc wrought by some evilly inclined

multitude, and her lyfe a spectacle to the ladyes of our age to beholde and imitate the like vertues—I leave it to the judgement of that smal number of happy men who (by a speciall grace from above) are ordeined to enjoye the benefyt of so rare and precious a gyfte." (ed. Douglas, I, 166-67).

1. Belleforest mentions only the first and third of these arguments. Fenton inserts between them the following considerations: "The widowes lyfe is also pure of itselfe, bounde to no care nor controlment of any, and so acceptable before God, that th'apostle doubteth not to accompte her amonge the number of the religious, yf, after she have once tasted of mariage and restored agayne to her lybertie, she content herselfe wyth the fyrste clogge or burden of bondage, lyvinge after in ymitacion of true vertue. Besides the holy man Sainct Augustin diswadeth all wydowes eftesones to marie, advisinge them to mortifie suche mocions as the fleshe is apte to sturre uppe and norrishe, by contemplacion, and prayer, and true sinceritie of lyfe; saynge further that they are accompted afore God amongst the number of chaste and pure virgins." (ed. Douglas, I, 173).

monster. It must be owned that he had supplied his translators with a hint when speaking of his "Madama di Cabrio" as "la sfortunata donna, che amaramente piangeva i suoi misfatti, tardi pentita, quanto al mondo, di tante sue sceleraggini quante commesse ella aveva" ¹. But the hint had been more than taken up by Belleforest (hist. 16). Not only had he made his heroine express her sorrow at her past life at great length, but he had also placed repentant speeches, in which the devout and religious note was sounded with a clear ring, in the mouth of her accomplice Tolonio. There had even been rather too much of this in his *histoire*, as we have seen, for the taste of Barnabe Rich (*Dialogue betwene Mercury and an English Souldier*). But in his Discourse 9 Fenton had followed him step by step, only making his developments, as is usual with him, somewhat fuller and more florid, but never departing from his text in anything that was essential or even material.

In Bandello's relation of her story Bianca Maria, Countess of Celant feels no such repentance as "Madama di Cabrio". Her only regret when at the point of death seems to come from some anxiety for the fate of her last lover, whom she has made a murderer of. He had escaped from prison, but she did not know this, and when sentenced to death Bandello tells us that :

"non sapendo che don Pietro era scappato per la piú corta, non si poteva disporre a morire. A la fine essendo condotta nel rivellino del castello verso la piazza, e veduto il ceppo, si cominciò piangendo a disperare e a domandar di grazia che, se volevano che morisse contenta, le lasciassero veder il suo don Pietro ; ma ella cantava a sordi."

After which nothing more follows than these matter-of-fact statements :

"Cosí la misera fu decapitata. E questo fin ebbe ella de le sue sfrenate voglie. E chi bramasse di veder il volto suo ritratto dal vivo, vada ne la chiesa del Monistero maggiore, e lá dentro la vedrá dipinta" ; (ed. Brognoligo, I, 67).

Whetstone develops at full length in *The Rocke of Regard*, on the contrary, a repenting speech uttered from the scaffold by the countess. In this he is in agreement with the various French or English versions of the story that were accessible to him. Belleforest had indeed introduced considerable alterations into it.

1. Bandello, II, 33, ed. Brognoligo, III, 230.

Whereas Bandello had done nothing more than record in the order of their succession, without almost any comment, the various stages in the career of the countess, he had laid stress from the first upon her evil, unruly disposition, and thus had turned what was only a bare chronicle of events into a psychological study of no little effectiveness and no mean merit. He had also credited his wicked heroine with an edifying end, and drawn from the story of her life the obvious moral conclusion. His account and reflections are accurately translated by Painter :

"The Countesse having sentence pronounced upon hir, but trusting for pardon, would not prepare hir selfe to dy, ne yet by any meanes crave forgiveness of hir faults at the hands of God, until she was conveyed out of the Castell, and ledde to the common place of execution, where a Scaffolde was prepared for hir to play the last Acte of thys Tragedy. Then the miserable Lady began to know herselfe, and to confesse hir faults before the people, devoutly praying God, not to have regard to hir demerites, ne yet to determine his wrath agaynst hir, or enter with hir in judgement, for so much as if the same were decreed accordinge to hir iniquity, no salvation was to be looked for. She besought the people to pray for hir, and the countee of Gaiazzo that was absent, to pardon hir malice, and treason which she had devised agaynst him. Thus miserably and repentantly dyed the Countesse, which in hir lyfe refused not to imbrace and follow any wickednes, no mischiefe shee accompted evill done, so the same were employed for hir pleasure and pastime. A goodly example truely for the youth of our present time, sith the most part indifferently do launch into the gulfes of disordred lyfe, suffring themselves to bee plunged in the puddles of their owne wayne conceiptes, without consideration of the mischieves that may ensue". (ed. Jacobs, III, 77).

Fenton's account presents some variations in detail. It is nevertheless conceived in the same spirit :

"And albeit the laste arreste and sentence diffinitive of the miserable countesse was communicated unto her to th'ende she mighte put her selfe in readines to passe the dreadfull journey of deathe, yet, seamyng to repose muche for herselfe in th'assistance of her coffers, she neyther disinayed at the newes nor disposed her selfe any waye toward God, untill the sergeantes criminall, taking her out of her dongeon in the castell, led her to the fatall theatric in the market place, where was erected a faire skaffolde to playe the laste acte of her tragedye upon. There the wretched ladye entred into open confession of her faltes and former lyfe in the hearyng of the multitude, desiring God upon her knees, wyth greäte effusion of tearès, not to deale with her according to her deserts, but that she mought enjoye the benefytt of his mercye ; and that he woulde not argue agaynste her, for yf he judged her

accordynge to her iniquities shee was not liable to abyde it. And so, desyering the people to preferr their prayers on her behalf, for her better assistance of the spirit of grace in her perillous passage which she had to parforme, she renounced nature by the deadly blow of the sword of execution, whiche toke away the head from the parnicious bodie of her, who in her life never founde any wickednes whyche shee dyd not onelye ymbrace but excede wyth ymitati n and increase with further vylanye, nor was acquaynted with any vertue whyche shee dyd not abuse or convert into an agravacion of synne. A goodlye example, suer, for the youth in oure tyme, seynge that the greatest parte, launsynge indifferentlye into the gulphe of all abominacion, are governed onelye by the transport of their vaine and foolysh conceits, without having respect to the sundry mischefes and impositions of shame which fayle not to attend the end of suche exercises". (ed. Douglas, II, 54-55).

Once more, Fenton's outlook upon life and view of human character, as well as Painter's and Belleforest's, are here seen to be more optimistic than Bandello's. The result again is that the story, such as they relate it, is in their hands less essentially tragic than it was in its original Italian version.

The softening of the tragical atmosphere noticeable in their translations is also due to the greater scope which they allow to sentimental rhetoric. This enters quite naturally in those stories in which a pair of youthful lovers, Romeo and Juliet, Livio and Camilla, Antonio Perillo and Carmosyna, are made the victims of an untoward fate. But there is much more of it in his French and his English translators and adapters than in Bandello himself.

Romeo and Juliet, it is true, fall in love with each other so suddenly at their first encounter, and Juliet shows such prompt readiness at letting Romeo know that she loves him even while they are surrounded by her father's guests, that here is little occasion for the soliloquies that usually accompany, in the pages of Boastuau and Belleforest and of their English imitators, the birth of a passion and the acceptance of her lover by the lady. Later on, the interest centres upon the schemes devised by the lovers for bringing about their happy reunion, upon actions rather than feelings, and this again hardly admits of opening wide the flood-gates of rhetoric. Or at least not wider than they had been by Bandello. For this time Bandello has put some soliloquies and speeches in the mouths of Romeo and Juliet, for instance when they are reflecting upon the obstacles in the way of their union, or when they meet by stealth in Juliet's chamber. He even gives rather

more of such pieces of rhetoric in this story than is usual with him. For once, there may have been enough in the Italian original to satisfy Boaistuau's taste that way, a taste, be it acknowledged, that was not quite so pronounced as Belleforest's. Boaistuau may have felt also that by adding to what he found there he would unduly delay the progress of the narrative, through its great variety of plot and incident, to the final catastrophe. However this may be, and even though he introduced various modifications in the conduct of the action, the general temper of the story is very much the same with him as with Bandello. Nor does it suffer any alteration at the hands of Painter, who translates from Boaistuau quite closely. So that, apart from the fact that they felt the appeal of a story in which romance combines with a pathos heightened by the sombre atmosphere of deadly family-feuds, awe-inspiring magic, and dark doings in a death-vault, there is little here to reveal the particular direction in which the English translators of Bandello were taken by their idiosyncrasies.

But such an indication is supplied by Arthur Brooke's translation of this same story. Quite plainly, there was not enough rhetoric in the pages of Boaistuau to suit his taste. Perhaps the best known thing about his work is the way in which he has developed the character of Juliet's nurse into that of a kindly, garrulous, romantic old woman, thrown into a flutter of excitement by the idea that her ward is having an intrigue with a young fellow. So little encumbered by scruples is she that she will help her in her love-affair with Romeo even though he is an enemy of her master's family. Later still, when she finds that Juliet cannot marry him because he has been banished, she advises her to accept the husband favoured by her parents, and throws in as an additional inducement that, should he ever come back, nothing will prevent her from taking Romeo as a lover—a consummation which no doubt she will be ready to help bring about with her ministrations—and thus find herself better provided than most¹. This is important indeed because of the hints that it supplied Shakespeare with. But for our present purpose it is not the most significant. What we would insist upon is the fact that, apart from his fitting the nurse

1. See, lines 631-713, the nurse's errand to Romeo and her account of it to Juliet, and lines 2288-2317 the arguments which she develops in favour of Juliet's taking Count Paris for a husband.

with a new and original personality, Brooke has really introduced into the story that he had read in *Boaistuau* so many rhetorical elements as to invest it with a different atmosphere.

The fact has already been noted that, while responding to the wonderful, romantic or moving nature of the story of these two lovers, Brooke was also interested in what lesson in the rules of practical conduct could be derived from the events that he recorded. Concurrently, since action is conditioned by feeling, he liked to probe into the state of his heroes' hearts. Thus he describes at some length both the alternatives of hope and despair through which Juliet is passing while her nurse is away asking the advice and requiring the help of Friar Lawrence, and Romeo's dejected state of mind after his arrival at Mantua as an exile. He also makes him launch, upon receiving the news of his banishment, into an impassioned invective against Fortune and Fate, and quotes at length the various arguments which the Friar resorts to in order to restore his calm ¹.

All these are additions of Brooke's own to the text of *Boaistuau*. As they mostly take the form of set speeches, one may infer from them that he was at least as much interested in the eloquent expression of the feelings as in their analysis. Indeed, he not unfrequently introduces into his narrative various embellishments the use of which was recommended in the manuals of rhetoric. It takes him fourteen lines to describe the return of daylight after the last interview between Romeo and Juliet (1701-1714), and he inserts into his relation of the duel between Romeo and Tibalt a twelve line long comparison (1023-1034). All along, he sprinkles his text with mythological allusions, common-places, moral reflections and bits of sentimental analysis. The following quotations will illustrate his most usual manner as compared with that of *Boaistuau*.

Boaistuau describes what happened after the first meeting of Romeo and Juliet in these words :

« Je ne doy (so Juliet says) souhaitter autre plus certain augure de son amitié, en laquelle je veulx persister, immuable jusques au dernier souspir de ma vie, moyennant qu'il m'espouse : car (peult estre) que ceste nouvelle alliance engendrera une perpetuelle paix & amitié entre sa famille & la mienne. Arresté do(n)cques en ceste deliberation toutes les fois qu'elle advisoit Rhomeo, passer devant sa porte, elle

1. Respectively lines 1247 ff., 1742-1780, and 1284-1513.

se presentoit avec un visage joyeux, & le conduysoit du clin de l'œil, tant qu'elle l'eust perdu de veü. Et apres avoir continué en ceste façon de faire, par plusieurs jours, Rhomeo ne se pouvant contenter du regard, contemploit tous les jours l'assiette de la maison, & un jour entre autres il advisa Juliette à la fenestre de sa chambre, qui respondoit à une rue fort estroicte, vis à vis de laquelle y avoit un jardin, qui fut cause que Rhomeo (craignant que leurs amours feussent manifestées) commença deslors à ne passer plus de jour devant sa porte, mais si tost que la nuict avec son brun manteau avoit couvert la terre, il se pourmenoit luy seul avec ses armes en ceste petite ruelle : & apres y avoir esté plusieurs fois à faulte, Juliette impatiente en son mal, se mist un soir à sa fenestre, & apperceut aiséme(n)t par la splendeur de la Lune son Rhomeo, joigna(n)t sa fenestre non moins attendu qu'attendant, lors elle luy dist tout bas la larme à l'œil, avec une voix interrompue de souspirs... » (Histoire 3, f^o 47).

This passage Brooke amplifies as follows :

"What other certayn signes / seke I of his good wil?
 These doo suffise ; and stedfast I / will love and serve him still,
 Till Attropos shall cut / my fatall thread of lyfe,
 So that he mynde to make of mé / his lawfull wedded wyfe.
 For so perchaunce this new / alliance may procure
 Unto our houses such a peace / as ever shall endure.
 Oh how we can perswade / our self to what we like,
 And how we can diswade our mynd, / if ought our mynd mislyke.
 Weake arguments are stronge, / our fansies streyght to frame
 To pleasing things, and eke to shonne, / if we mislike the same.
 The mayde had scarcely yet / ended the wery warre,
 Kept in her heart by striving thoughtes, / when every shining starre
 Had payd his borrowed light, / and Phebus spred in skies
 His golden rayes, which seemd to say, / now time it is to rise.
 And Romeus had by this / forsaken his wery bed,
 Where restles he a thousand thoughts / had forged in his hed.
 And while with lingring step / by Juliets house he past,
 And upward to her windowes high / his gredy eyes did cast :
 His love that looked for him / there gan he straight espie.
 With pleasant cheere eche greeted is ; / she followeth with her eye
 His parting steppes, and he / oft looketh backe againe,
 But not so oft as he desyres ; / warely he doth refraine.
 What life were lyke to love, / if dred of jeopardy
 Ysowred not the sweete ; if love / were free from jelosy.
 But she more sure within, / unseene of any wight,
 When so he comes, lookes after him / till he be out of sight.
 In often passing so, / his busy eyes he threw,
 That every pane and tooting hole / the wily lover knew.
 In happy houre he doth / a garden plot espye,
 From which, except he warely walke, / men may his love descrye ;

For lo, it fronted full / upon her leaning place,
 Where she is woont to shew her heart / by cheerefull frendly face.
 And lest the arbors might / theyr secret love bewraye,
 He doth keepe backe his forward foote from passing there by daye ;
 But when on earth the night / her mantel blacke hath spread,
 Well armd he walketh forth alone, / ne dreadfull foes doth dred.
 Whom maketh love not bold, / naye whom makes he not blynde?
 He reveth daungers dread oft times / out of the lovers minde.
 By night he passeth here, / a weeke or two in vayne ;
 And for the missing of his marke, / his grieve hath him nye slaine.
 And Juliet that now / doth lacke her hearts releefe :
 Her Romens pleasant eyen (I meene) / is almost dead for greefe.
 Eche day she chaungeth howres / (for lovers keepe an howre)
 When they are sure to see theyr love, / in passing by their bowre.
 Impacient of her woe, / she hapt to leane one night
 Within her window, and anon / the Moone did shine so bright
 That she espyde her love, / her hart revived, sprang ;
 And now for joy she clappes her handes, / which erst for woe she wrang.
 Eke Romeus, when he sawe / his long desired sight,
 His moorning cloke of mone cast of, / hath clad him with delight.
 Yet dare I say, of both / that she rejoyced more :
 His care was great, hers twice as great / was all the tyme before ;
 For whilst she knew not why / he dyd himselfe absent,
 Ay douting both his health and lyfe, / his death she dyd lament.
 For love is fearefull oft, / where is no cause of feare :
 And what love feares, that love laments, / as though it chaunced weare.
 Of greater cause alway / is greater woorke ybred :
 While he nought douteth of her helth, / she dreads lest he be ded.
 When only absence is / the cause of Romeus smart :
 By happy hope of sight agayne / he feedes his faynting hart.
 What woonder then if he / were wrapt in lesse annoye?
 What marvell if by sodain sight / she fed of greater joye?
 His smaller greefe or joy / no smaller love doo prove ;
 Ne, for she passed him in both, / did she him passe in love :
 But eche of them alike / dyd burne in equall flame,
 The welbeloving knight, and eke / the welbeloved dame.
 Now whilst with bitter teares / her eyes as fountaynes ronne :
 With whispering voyce, ybroke with sobs, / thus is her tale begonne :
 " (ll. 423 ff.).

Among other stories of the same type as that of Romeo and Juliet, both those of Livio and Camilla and of Antonio Perillo take up in Fenton a far greater number of pages than in Bandello. In the former, Bandello had but briefly related all that leads to Camilla's favourable acceptance of the love of Livio. He had as usual barely stated the facts and recorded in a few words the emotions of the chief characters. In the English novel, not only

are their feelings analysed at some length and with some subtlety, and expressed in long, impassioned soliloquies and speeches, but new incidents are devised that afford fresh opportunities for the indulgence of sentimental rhetoric. In the Italian original, Livio's sister Cornelia informs him at once that Camilla has returned an uncourteous answer to her pleading in favour of her love-sick brother. In the English novel, she first deceives him as to the real character of Camilla's answer, and advises him to send her a declaration of his love in writing. Of course he does so, and though his letter is not quoted, at least an opportunity is created for another interview between Camilla and Cornelia, in the course of which both girls exchange more speeches. And to the very end the pages of this English novel are in this way flooded with rhetoric. It flows in a plentiful stream when Livio and Cornelia are thrown into a fit of despair by Camilla's second denial of the young man's suit ; when from his sick-bed Livio cries out his love to Camilla who has come and paid a visit to Cornelia ; and again when both Livio and Camilla are sorrowful because the latter's brother shows himself opposed to their marriage and Livio begs her—the letter is quoted this time—since they have solemnly plighted their troth before witnesses, to grant him access to her as the husband that he is in all but deed.

The same elements occur in the story of Antonio Perillo and Carmosyna to give it a different complexion in English from that which it bears in the Italian. Here again we read the letters exchanged between the two lovers. We hear the various complaints uttered by Perillo when Minio refuses to give him his daughter's hand or when he has been taken by the pirates, and by Carmosyna when she hears of his hard lot. One more speech is addressed to Perillo by Carmosyna in order to comfort him after his release from bondage and return to Naples. There is in the English version of this novel, in short, a whole batch of rhetorical set pieces that we should look for in vain in the pages of Bandello.

It might be claimed that, by thus dwelling at greater length upon the love-romance of the hero and heroine, the English translators and adapters of Bandello heighten the pity of the catastrophe that finally overtakes them. To this we would answer that in Bandello there is hardly more of this romance than is just necessary for setting the stage for the final catastrophe, and that it remains subordinate to it. In the English versions of his stories, on the

contrary, the romance takes up so much room, and is developed with so much care, that it assumes primary importance and that the final catastrophe, due to no human agency, looks like nothing more than a gratuitous grafting of tragedy upon a novel that is for the most part of it sentimental.

The same weighting over of tragedy with romance is noticeable again, in those novels in which the prime mover of tragedy is some human passion transcending the ordinary. Not only is the final butchering scene in the story of Didaco and Violenta less brutal in Boaiutuan and in Painter than in Bandello himself, but it is preceded by a long account, much more developed than in the Italian writer, of the court paid by Didaco to Violenta. Meeting her by chance, he is so struck by her beauty that henceforth he is frequently to be seen passing and repassing before her door, at which times she greets him with a courteous, amiable countenance. Then he long woos her with gifts, letters and messengers, but with so little success that he resolves to essay the effect of his own eloquence upon her. The speech that he delivers upon this occasion is given in full, and so is her answer to the effect that she loves him indeed, but still not so that he may expect to receive from her anything contrary to her honour. After this he stays long away from her, but he is not able to conquer his love, and so he tries to make her his mistress by sending six hundred ducats to her mother and promising to assign her a substantial dowry when she finds a man worthy to be her husband. For this he is duly rebuked, and finally he resolves upon marrying her. The various gifts that he heaps upon her on this occasion are enumerated, and of course the many endearing speeches that then pass between them are also quoted.

The result is, again, that the balance is not so overwhelmingly in favour of tragedy as it was in the original. It is even less so in Thomas Achelley's version of the same story.

Thomas Achelley considerably alters the character of Didaco, and this he does in a way that provides him with many opportunities for indulging in sentimental rhetoric. With him, Didaco is a "martial wight"

Enjoying still his libertie, / not knowyng Venus yoke :
Unexpert in the panges of love, / and cursd Cupides stroke :
.....
To leane to Cupids servile lore, / he counted it a payne :

The glauncing gleees of amorous dames, / such toyes he counted vayne".
(*fo* B 4).

Indeed,—and at this place the speeches of Didaco, Venus and Cupid are, once more, given in full—his contempt of love expresses itself in such plain, outspoken terms that the goddess of love bids her son strike him with one of his arrows, and inspire him with a passion for "fayre Violenta". Cupid complies with alacrity, and now Didaco wonders at the strange alteration he feels in himself. He asks the gods what he may have done to deserve such a cruel smart as that which he is suffering from ; he promises Cupid and Venus, if they will alleviate his pain, to become their faithful servant, he reflects that Violenta is not his equal, that doubtless she is cruel and will show him no pity ; he exclaims in his anguish against the hardness of his fate. But why complain? he goes on. Have not greater than he, yea, Hercules in spite of all his strength and prowess and mighty Jove himself, been compelled to submit to the force of love? Let him then vow faithful service to Venus. Having taken which resolve he rises from the bed upon which he has been sighing and groaning, and makes for the street in which Violenta has her abode. There he walks up and down for some time in vain, till at last Fortune favours him with the sight of the fair girl, to whom he frames "his trembling tale". Violenta begins by expressing some surprise that he, who was so ardent a devotee of Mars, cannot now subdue his love with the help of reason. Yet she confesses that she also has felt "the force of Cupids flame". If his suit "to honest purpose tend", she will be his servant as long as her life lasts. But, she goes on, if by suing me you mean only to "glut your lust" :

"In faith your labour is but lost, / and all your travaile vaine.
And therefore best it were in time, / your fancie to forgoe :
Least further fostering of the same, / do aggravate your woe."

Having said which :

"...within the doores she flange, / and so her aunswere ended
With scornefull scoffes and furious face/as though she were offended".
(*fo* C 8).

Of course Didaco is thrown thereby into another violent fit of despair. The music of Orpheus, he complains, has drawn from their sufferings the minds of Tantalus, Sisyphus, the Belides, Ixion,

Prometheus : they would forget them even more completely if they could hear his mournful plaint, and they would take pity upon him. No man was ever thus tortured :

"I frie, I freese, I burne, I broyle, / I starve, I fret, I fume :
I live and die, I die and live, / in languor I consume."

The only escape out of such a fearful predicament is in death. Death, forsooth! No, Didaco, thou shouldst not give way to despair :

"Thy sute, if well pursued it be, / may have successe in fine.
Some say there is no fort so strong, / though founded on a rocke :
But that a golden key hath power, / and force to breake the locke.
Therefore, where love doth want the skill, / thy purpose for to reache :
There hazard once to put in profe, / if Coyne can make the breache".
(f^o D 2).

In accordance with which reasoning he sends Violenta six hundred ducats by a servant. And from this point the story runs upon very much the same lines as in Boaištuau and Painter.

So decided is this tendency of the English writers towards overbalancing tragedy with romance that they indulge their bent even when there is a moral lesson to be drawn from the tragical conclusion. The story of the adulterous Lady of Turin, whose cruel punishment is so coolly planned and sternly executed by the husband she had wronged, was doubtless looked upon by them as a strong deterrent for those ladies who might be tempted to forget their conjugal duty, and a frightful example of the wages of sin. "Wantones and pleasaunt life being guides of insolencie, doth bring a miserable end to a faire ladie of Thurin, whom a noble man advaunced to high estate : as appereth by this historie, wherein he executeth great crueltie upon his sayde ladie, taken in adulterie", in these words does Painter sum up the gist of it in his title (ed. Jacobs, I, 240). It has even received in his pages, and before him in those of Boaištuau, who was responsible for the change, a more decidedly moral cast than in the Italian original¹. But in this novel both Boaištuau and Painter also describe the love-passages at greater length and with fuller rhetorical embellishments than Bandello had done.

The same holds true, again, of those that lead to the secret

1. Sturel, *Op. cit.*, 17-18.

marriage of the Duchess of Malfi and her steward. With them, not only is the duchess's resolve to coax Antonio Bologna into marrying her preceded by long soliloquies, mainly of a moral import, that have no counterpart in Bandello, but in recording her offer of her love to her steward, and his acceptance of it, they also go into much greater developments than he had done. In the Italian novel indeed the duchess, once she has rested her choice upon Antonio, makes him a fairly long speech, under colour of asking his advice, to inform him of her wish to marry again. But after this he remains silent ; she reveals her whole mind to him by saying :

"Antonio, sta di buona voglia e non ti sgomentare, ch , se tu vorrai, io ho deliberato che tu per ogni modo sia mio marito". (ed. Brognoligo, I. 350) ;

and he immediately takes her secretly to wife in the presence of her maid. In Painter, who follows Belleforest quite closely, the opening speech of the duchess to Antonio is even longer than in Bandello, the agitation of his feelings upon hearing her is described at some length, and the fresh speech through which, seeing that he remains silent, she informs him that he, and none but he, is the man of her choice, takes up a good half page of Jacobs's in-quarto ¹. Then Bologna's tongue is loosened, and it takes another page for him to accept of her offer, and describe the state of his heart, before they go through the form of marrying. The whole of this takes up about fifteen pages in Jacobs's edition, and the process

1. This speech may be given here for purposes of comparison with Bandello's short sentence quoted above : "Seignor Anthonio, I pray you be of good cheere, and torment not your selfe for any thing that I have sayd : I know well, and of long time have perceyved what good and faythful love you beare mee, and with what affection you have served me, sithens you first came into my company. Thinke me not to bee so ignorant, but that I know ful wel by outward signes, what secret thoughts be hid in the inner heart : and that conjectures many times do geve me true and certayne knowledge of concealed things : and am not so foolish to thinke you to be so indiscrete but that you have marked my Countenance and maner, and thereby have knowen that I have beene more affectioned to you, than to any other : for that cause (sayde shee, strayinge hym by the hand very lovingly, and wyth cheerefull colour in hir face) I sware unto you, and do  promise that if you thinke meete, it shalbe none other but your self whom I wil have, and desire to take to husband and lawfull spouse, beyng  assured so much of you, as the love which so longe time hath ben hidden and covered in our hartes, shall appeare by so evident prooffe, as onely death shal end and undo the same." (ed. Jacobs, III, 18).

of seizing every opportunity for speech-making and loading every page with all sorts of rhetorical embellishments and moral reflections is continued in the same manner right to the end of the story¹. In such a way that the reader's attention is drawn away from the tragical fate of the unfortunate duchess and her family, the relation of which is far more telling in the comparative nakedness and matter-of-factness of Bandello's narrative. This continuous stressing of romance by the English writers in the initial stages of stories that end in tragedy certainly detracts from the essentially tragic character which the tales had borne in their Italian form, just as the infusion of romance in the stories of the Lord of Virle and of Cornelio and Plaudina does not leave them the essential *fabliaux* that they originally were.

It looks indeed as if the English translators and adapters of Bandello, when one of their characters was in love, were unable to resist the opportunity that this afforded them of describing his emotions and crediting him with many fine soliloquies and speeches. It would seem indispensable to this that love should be looked upon as a fine sentiment, and not as purely physical desire. But so strong was the sentimental bias of our Englishmen that they made absolutely all lovers, whether their passion was chaste or not, go through exactly the same paces.

There is in the story of the Countess of Celant, as related by Belleforest, Painter and Fenton, an incident that seems quite significant in this respect. When Dom Pietro de Cardone was first struck with Bianca Maria's good looks, to quote from Painter, who here again is a faithful translator of Belleforest, he often "passed through the Streate, and saluted hir", when he "Syghed after the manner of the Spaniard, rominge before hys Lady", and she "shewed him an indifferent mery Countenance, and sodaynely restrayned that Cheere, to make hym taste the pleasure mingled with the soure of one desire, which he could not tel how to accomplish". Till "he was straungely vexed, and tormented for hir love, in sutch wyse as in the night he could not rest for fantasying, and thynking upon hir, and in the Day passed up and downe before the Doore of her lodging". One evening at last he repaired under her window with a friend of his, and while his friend played upon the lute

1. A piece of verse is even quoted (pp. 39-40), which Bologna had composed upon his misfortunes, and which he sings one day after dinner at the house of the Lady Hippolita Bentivoglia. As for the moralization see above.

favoured her with a most doleful "Sonet". He despaired of success, however, and now gave vent to his sorrow in another piece of verse. Both pieces are quoted. They pleased the countess so well that she sent for the Sicilian lord. He, however, "seeing hymselfe favoured (beyond all hope) of his Lady, and cheerefully intertayned, and welcommed with great curtesie stode so still astonnied, as if hee had beene fallen from the Cloudes". But "she.. made hym sit downe upon a greene Bed besydes hir" and led him into most elegant talk, full of professions of honour and love, till she requested him to help her in being revenged upon the lords who defamed her¹.

Even though we are told that Dom Pietro was young and "a Novice in Skirmishes of Love", the feelings and attitude with which he is here credited are rather surprising. They seem natural enough in young men like Romeo, Livio or Perillo, burning with a wholly honest love for such pure youthful maidens as Juliet, Camilla and Carmosyna, and ready to forget and forego all things else for a life-long union with them in which their souls will be joined even more than their bodies. But here no such thing is in question, not even, novice though he may be, in Dom Pietro's mind, and to a modern reader at least there is something incongruous in seeing low lust thus dignified with the glamour of ideal love, and a common strumpet sued for her favours in the same way as if she were a chaste virgin requested to bestow her hand in marriage, or some haughty and virtuously inclined lady implored to accept the humble, respectful service of a mediaeval knight or of a spiritual child of Petrarch. And indeed there is nothing of the sort in Bandello, who at least had too realistic a turn of mind for thus disguising prosaic matters under a coat of sentimental varnish².

1. Ed. Jacobs, III, pp. 69 ff.

2. "Questo don Pietro era giovine di ventidui anni, brunetto di faccia ma porzionato di corpo e d'aspetto malinconico, il quale veggendo un dì la signora Bianca Maria, fieramente di lei s'innamorò. Ella conoscendolo e giudicatolo piccione di prima piuma ed instrumento atto a far ciò che ella tanto bramava, se le mostrava lieta in vista, e quanto poteva più l'adescava, per meglio irretirlo ed abbarbagliarlo. Egli, che più non aveva amato donna di conto, stimando questa esser una de le prime di Milano, miseramente per amor di lei si struggeva. A la fine ella se lo fece una notte andar a dormir seco, e con amorevolissime accoglienze lo raccolse, e mostrandosi ben ebra de l'amor di lui, li fece tante carezze e gli dimostrò tanta amorevolezza nel prender amorosamente piacer insieme, che egli si reputava esser il più felice amante che fosse al mondo". (ed. Brognoligo, I, 65-66).

In his translation of this story Fenton does not follow Belleforest's account quite so closely as Painter had done. Beside not quoting Dom Pietro's ditties, he suppresses many details from the scene between him and his intended mistress in such a way as greatly to minimise the incongruity¹. But this may have been mere chance. For instead of appearing only in an incident, the same sort of incongruity is at the core of two novels in which he is seen, not only to respond to the lead of Belleforest, but even to better him, in crediting with feelings and emotions like those of Romeo, Livio, or Perillo, hardened sinners who will attempt a rape rather than not enjoy the unfortunate girls by whose good looks their senses have been set ablaze.

One of these is the Neapolitan abbot against whom Parolyna preserves her chastity thanks to a spirited defence, and the other is that servant of "Loys Gonsaga" who succeeds in doing violence to poor, 'virtuous' Julia of Gazuolo. Both young ladies hold their honour dearer than life, and Bandello himself so far departed from his usual practice as to introduce into his narrative of their misfortunes a few sentences which extolled their virtue and held them up as models to be admired². Of course there is much more

1. "Besides that he passed by her gate everye daye in greate braverie of chaunge of horse and apparell with his men moosteryng aboute hym and other pompe of a capteine, makyng his horse make good the *Toto Pomado* with other loftie tornes above ground, when he came against the windowe that yelded the first view and prospect of her beauty ; yet, for a further declaracion of his affectioned service, he walked one evening a long the pallaice of his ladye, with a noyse of softe musicke to procure her to come to the windowe ; when himself tooke a treble lute and gave her a good night, in a songe no lesse dolefull in note and tune then of desperat substance, with such stoare of sighes and regards of pitie in his face, that who had seene his ghassteli countenance at that time wold have judged him to bee served with the laste processe and sentence diffynitive of his lyfe, or that he had made love to one of the blood royall in Spaine. In the ende of whyche moarning musike, Dom Pierro, as one out of hope to recover any one jote of favor of his mistrys, beinge upon his departure and retire to his lodging, was requested to come in by one of her women ; who, opening the gate, conveyed him alone thorowe a faire gardeine into a large gallerie, honge on either side with sondrie sortes of pictures and tables of love and follie, where the countesse did not only give hym greate thanks for the honour he dyd her with hys solemme musycke, but also yelded hym suche other choice of familiar curtesye that he seamed rather astonied with the presence of the place he so muche desyred, then hable to bestowe anye thanks or other symple showe of dutie uppon hys newe gooddesse". (ed. Douglas, II, 46).

2. Though perhaps Bandello is not quite whole-hearted in his praise when he writes that the defence of her chastity which the Neapolitan heroine made against the abbot : "per esser di quegli atti che solevano operare quelle antiche e famose

of this in Fenton, and both these Discourses of his are full of disquisitions on the nature of love, on virtue, constancy, chastity, lust and kindred subjects. They are full also of the usual sentimental rhetoric. Bandello had just shown his abbot burning in vain for Parolyna without being able to gain access to her or even attract her notice, till he was brought to the point of attempting violence at the first opportunity. Belleforest had greatly developed this part of the story, into which he had inserted many incidents of his own invention, and Fenton follows suit. Both give a very circumstantial account of the birth of love in the heart of Gonsaldo as soon as he meets Parolyna by chance in the street, and of the way in which he goes forth and back under her window, haunts all the places where he can feed his eyes upon her sight, and gives her to understand by his countenance that he is consuming himself for the love of her. Of course they make every new development an occasion for indulging their rhetorical bent. As Parolyna never gives him the least encouraging sign but on the contrary, when seeing that he attaches himself to all her steps, avoids leaving her father's house or looking out into the street, the amorous abbot pens her a passionate letter, hesitates before sending it, and at last commits it to the care of a servant. Of course the letter is quoted. Of course the servant, when delivering it to Parolyna, accompanies it with a speech to which she returns a most virtuous answer. And of course there will be more speeches when the messenger reports to his master the failure of his mission, and when Gonsaldo requests his help for his attempt upon the girl's virtue. Speech-making will indeed go on even when Gonsaldo waylays Parolyna in the fields.

The same pattern is followed in the relation of the story of Julia of Gazuolo, in which it must be said, however, that Belleforest and Fenton have had nothing more to do than graft their sentimental rhetoric upon the canvas of Bandello. The hero meets Julia at a dance, and there he immediately declares his love to her. She eloquently rejects his suit, and thereby throws him into a state of great agitation which both writers complacently describe. He is restored to comparative quiet only after an old go-between has

donne romane o quelle tedesche che con aspra morte servarono la lor barbarica onestate, merita che resti viva e voli per bocca di tutti i gentili e generosi spiriti". (ed. Brognoligo, II, 352).

promised him to coax the young girl into granting him his wish. Speeches are of course exchanged at every step : between the go-between and the lover before she goes away upon her errand, between the old woman and Julia, between the lover and his messenger once more when she has to tell him that she has found the young girl adamant in her resistance and denial. It looks indeed as if in these two novels Belleforest and Fenton took delight in playing rhetorical variations upon the same theme. And in this story as well as in the preceding one their rhetorical bent leads them to quote the speeches that pass between Julia and him who will do her violence just as he is preparing to do so. They deluge their reader upon every page, and under every pretext, with a flood of moralizing and sentimental rhetoric the like of which is everywhere to seek in the Italian originals.

This of itself would make these two novels in their French and English forms far less realistic and matter-of-fact than they are in the Italian. But nothing makes the change so apparent as both Belleforest's and Fenton's idealisation of the feelings of the future ravishers. This is even more marked in Fenton than in Belleforest. Belleforest it was who had invented the abbot's sending of a letter to Parolyna by one of his servants. When the messenger returns to report failure, he would advise his master to desist from his enterprise. But Gonsaldo answers him with considerations upon the irresistible power of love, thereby eliciting from him a promise of faithful service in whatever he will command. Then, in spite of what he has said, he tries to drive Parolyna from his mind, but only succeeds in adding fuel to his passion. Thus he is made to feel qualms and a variety of emotions with which Bandello had not credited him, and these emotions are in Fenton both stronger and more tender than in Belleforest.

« Je n'enten point ceste philosophie, dist le valet, seulement advisez où je pourray m'employer pour le soulas de vostre peine : car ma vie n'y sera point espargnee, pourveu qu'avec la perte d'icelle je puisse vous oster de tourme(n)t. En temps & lieu, dist Gensualdo, je te semoudray de ta promesse, & feray essay de ta fidelité, & du devoir auquel tu voudrois te mettre pour mon soulagement. Sur ceste deliberation, il passa quelques jours forçant son vouloir, ne passoit plus par devant la porte de son ennemie, & s'il sçavoit qu'elle fust en quelque lieu ou eglise, il n'y alloit plus faire ses offrandes & pournades. Mais tous ses essais estoyent autant d'amorces pour l'attirer à la folle q(ue) depuis il s'essaya d'executer. Car la nuit estant ravi

en ses pensemens, & forcé tant de ses appetits sensuels, que de la sou-
vena(n)ce de l'exquise & rare beauté de sa cruelle..... »,

he finally resolved once more to seek the fruition of his passion. Thus Belleforest had written after recording Gonsaldo's answer to his servant's advice (*Histoire* 28, f^o 204). Here is now what Fenton makes of the same passage :

"Wherin he had yet proceded, but that the panges of inwarde sorowe, compellynge the conduites of waterye humours to discover them selves, forced a vente at his eyes in greate abundance of teares ; whiche, drownynge the wordes of furdur discourse in his mouth, moved his vallet also to equal dolor ; who, notwithstandinge, preferred suche consolacion to his maister as sorowe woulde give hym leave to utter, with a franke offer to pawne his lyfe, with the rest of his worldlye porcion, to redeme the quiete of the abbott, and put hym in possession of her whome he accompted the sufferayne *cataplame* for his mortall disease. Wherewith he confortd eftesones the selye Gonsaldo ; who, tellynge hym that after he had gott the consent of convenient tyme and oportunitie, he woulde somon hym to an effect of his promisse, dismissinge therewith his faithfull servant, and retiryng hymselfe to a simple comforte in this laste resolucion, for certeine dayes forbear to visit the streetes, churches, or other places, where afore he was wonte to make his offeryngs and purmenadoes ; thinkynge in shonnyng the places of her repaire and presence, he shoulde at laste force a forgetfulnes of her beautie. Wherein, notwithstandinge, he seamed to sprinkle water uppon hoate cinders, and brought more oyle to his matche : and all hys traveile therin sturred upp a freshe supplie of drawing baites, movinge an encrease of desyer, wyth augmentacion of his follic, whiche after he assaide to putt in execution. For the more he wente aboute to roote oute the remembrance of her beautye, the more suerly dyd love imprinte her picture in the bottome of his harte, with provocation not to give over the queste, but procede in the pursute of so pleasant a praye. In the daye the whole cloisture or circute of his abbaye cold skarcelye comprehende the sondrie ymaginations of hys braine : and his bed in the nighte presented hym wyth as muche reste as he that is bounde to treade continua'ly the laborinth of endles toile" ; (ed. Douglas, I, 262-63).

The future ravisher of Julia of Gazuolo feels no less tender and strong emotions. After she has rejected the offer of his love, Fenton tells us that :

"he, being none other then the slave of follye, disposed whollye to feede upon the humour of his affections, had no other thought then to devise howe to enjoye the firste frutes and pleasant jewiste of the virginity of chaste Julya, who, the lesse accompte she seamed to make

of his greef, the greater grewe his desir to pursue her : whiche he failed not to performe with more vehemencie then afore, publishyng his affection by the sounde of a number of doleful sighes, accompanied wyth teares of suche pitiful regarde that they seamed sufficient to pearce a hart wroughte on the forge of flinte or steele". (ed. Douglas, II, 71).

And here are the speeches that pass between them when he accosts her alone in the fields, where he has followed her with fully premeditated intent to attempt violence upon her :

"If lengthe of tyme be the true tuch-stone to try a difference betwene the fained harte and firme affeccion, you have a sufficient prooffe of my constancy ; or if longe service wyth sincere loyaltie may seme meritorious, you alone can judge my diligence and I accuse your crueltie. But if the trybute of true frendshippe is to be payde wyth a replie of semblable affection, why doo you in thys sort suspende my sute, doblinge my passion in denying the thyng that is due to me by just title? How can you thus longe kepe me in captivitie that offers my lyfe for a ransome ; or when I sue for my right, to reward me wyth crueltie which I have not deserved and lesse seminge for one of your calibre and calling? It is time nowe to strike saile and remove the vaile of your ancyente rigor, whereof I have tasted of long time, and, waighynge indifferently the meryt of my martirdom, to yelde me meede accordingly. Let me once taste of the vertue of your bownty, as well as I have hetherto lyved under the yoke of youre crueltie, so that the meede of my owne deserving may at last geve end to the evils whych I suffer by your meanes?" Wherwyth the poore Julya, no lesse amased at his sodein encownter in that place then unprovided of an answer to his doubtfull demaunde, was dryven to replie according to the shortnes of her tyme and leasure. "If you appeale to the length of tyme for declaracion of your loyal love and proffie of constancy", sayth she, "I crave no other judge of your fowle desier, rather to robb me of that I holde moste dere, then to honor me with the offer of true affeccion. Wherin I am justified by the diverse disorderly meanes whych heretofore you have suborned to advaunce your wicked intent. Neyther deserve I of right th'imputacion of crueltie, and much lesse of unsemely rigor as you terme it, considering I neither used the one nor the other but as a special vertue in defence of myne honestie. And touching your passion and torment, procedyng rather by want of discrecion in your self then occasion on my part, I see neither cause to complayne your grefe nor reason to releve it. Neither can I answer you with other termes but commit you to the merytt of your follye. In wishinge me to geve end to your evils, you presse with more then is in my power : seinge I was neither previe to the beginning nor cause of the continuance, and much lesse experienced in the cure of such diseases. Only, I pray you, forbere eftsones to pursewe me, who, beinge not equall as you have saide in qualytye or callinge, is lesse

redy to agre wyth you in consent, or fulfill the beastely appetyte of your will : desiringe you, for ende, to let me lyve as I am, and not to serve me hensfurth wyth any processe of vaine ymportunyties. For I hadde rather indure the martirdome of a thousand torments then do the thinge that myne honor can not justifie" ; (ed. Douglas, II, 86-87).

How well grounded in rhetoric these heroes were, to be sure! They are no whit inferior in this respect to Amadis and his lady themselves. But their fine speeches on this occasion certainly do make a rather incongruous preface to the brutal scene that will immediately follow.

It need hardly be said that this incongruity has no counterpart in the novels of Bandello. It is not that romance is absent from them. But at least he knew how to keep it apart from the realistic strain. His French and English translators apparently did not. And the result once more was that the grim tragedy that in his work appears in all its lurid nakedness is in their translations seen only through an interposed film of a more tender and less glaring hue.

IV

In view of their idealistic treatment of the most sombre novels, one may suppose that the English translators and adapters of Bandello found themselves more at home in those of a comforting, optimistic cast. It seems worthy of remark at any rate that the greater number of those for which they went straight to Bandello belong to this group. The exceptions are only four in number, viz : Painter's tales of Faustina, of Aristotimus, and of the two Gentlewomen of Venice, and, though there remains some doubt about the source from which he actually took it, Rich's story of Lamia. Nor are these exceptions quite decisive. The story of Faustina is indeed a rather brutal tale of lust and blood, but in that of Aristotimus, if the chaste Micca falls a victim to the lecherous Lucius, the tyrant who condones his crime is finally overthrown and the cause of virtue emerges triumphant. While in that of the two Gentlewomen of Venice the genius for plotting and contriving is made to subserve the ends of morality, and the story of Lamia,

though essentially a *fabliau*, has been provided with sentimental and moralizing features that are absent from the original.

Painter it was who occasionally went straight to Bandello for some of his tales. As usual with him, he keeps fairly close to his model. The novels that were translated from the French, on the contrary, have according to the usual practice of Boaistuau and Belleforest been swelled with a large infusion of moralizing and sentimental rhetoric. With this category of tales this means nothing more, very often, than a development of the germs which Bandello himself had deposited in his narrative. But it occasionally happens also that even here greater stress is laid upon the romantic elements, and the atmosphere is modified so as to make the moral more telling, after a fashion that shows that the same process of idealization is at work in these novels as in the humorous or in the tragical ones:

It does not bear quite the same part in all of them, however. In some the chief characters have nothing more to do, in order to behave worthily, than follow the bent of their own nature, and there is never a doubt that things will end happily. But in others a happy conclusion is reached only because the heroes show a change of heart and get the better of their bad impulses, or because a happy turn is given by chance and fortune to events fraught with the possibility of unpleasant consequences. These it is that afford the greater scope to the sentimental and idealizing propensities of Bandello's English translators and adapters.

A few of these novels would seem to have been written for the express purpose of setting up some model before the reader. It is true that in the story of Ariobarzanes, which Painter took straight from Bandello, no small portion of the interest arises from the account of the various incidents marking the well-meaning but mistaken courtier's endeavour to outdo his proud sovereign in courtesy. Still, this novel is essentially concerned with illustrating a rule of conduct. And others are pieces of pure moralization. Such is the story of the Lady of Hidrusa, which Painter again translated directly from Bandello. This lady is bent upon committing suicide. But she meets death with such good will, before having suffered any misfortune, that there is nothing tragic about her fate. The only feeling her story can inspire the reader with, if he enters into the spirit of it, is admiration for her wisdom. Nor does the story of the king of Morocco, which Painter this time

translated from Belleforest, make any appeal but to admiration for the loyalty of the poor fisherman towards his sovereign, and the generosity with which the king rewards him for it.

No less worthy than the characters in these two novels are Anselmo Salimbene, Charles Montanini and his sister Angelica, Seleucus and Antiochus, Dom Diego, Anne of Hungary and the "meane gentleman" who was in love with her, and Barbara. But the novels in which they figure are also marked with romantic features which, in those at least that were translated from the French, are more pronounced than in the Italian originals.

The most noticeable trait about Salimbene, Montanini and Angelica is the generosity of their natures. It prompts Salimbene to save the life of the last survivor of a family divided from his by a deadly feud, and Montanini not to remain content till he has conferred upon him a benefit equal to that which he received from him. This he has no other means of doing than by "rendering into his hands", as Painter has it, his sister Angelica. Though unwilling at first to resign herself entirely to the will of any man, she is on her side so well endowed with gratitude and courtesy that she finally agrees to being delivered to her brother's preserver. And indeed she has nothing to fear. He is too noble-hearted to accept the fair maid that he is presented with upon any other terms than as his lawful wife. To this resolve he is moved by his love as well as by his innate generosity. For both go hand in hand in him from the very first. When hearing that Montanini is in danger of his life, his first impulse is to rejoice at the thought that now he will make an easy conquest of the fair Angelica, whose image he has for a long time been cherishing in his heart without mentioning his passion to anyone. But he soon checks himself: it would be love unworthy of a gentle heart that would seek to reap an advantage from the loved one's misfortune. Let him rather show his generosity by protecting her whom he loves against the danger that is threatening her.

In all this the tales of Painter and of Fenton agree with Bandello's. But they took for their model, in this case, not Bandello himself, but Belleforest. Now Belleforest had not only loaded Bandello's narrative with moral reflections, to which he adds point by adducing the example of what sundry historical characters had done under similar circumstances. He had also made Angelica and Charles, when the latter is threatened with death, vent their despair

respectively in an impassioned scilology and in a piece of verse that were entirely of his own devising. In Belleforest also, but not in Bandello, her brother's proposal that she be offered to Salimbene is at first so repugnant to Angelica that she falls down in a swoon. Fearing that she will refuse her consent, her brother also has a fainting fit. All these developments seem well calculated to heighten the value of the maid's sacrifice, and add an extra touch of keenness to her brother's resolve to repay the benefit that he has received. But perhaps the most noticeable change is that, while Montanini will offer to Salimbene not only his sister, but himself also, as "voluntary slaves", Belleforest does not dwell upon the latter point with the same insistence as Bandello. Thus he throws all the weight of the emphasis upon that aspect of his resolve that bears a romantic complexion¹. In the same way,

1. "Certamente egli conviene che così sia, che mia sorella ed io per schiavi volontari a lui ci diamo e lo riconosciamo per nostro perpetuo signore". Thus does Montanini express his resolve in Bandello, (ed. Brognoligo, II, 208). When calling upon Salimbene with his sister, he first addresses him in these words: "Tu non ti meravigliarai, Anselmo, se io userò nuovo modo in parlarti che ne la nostra città non s'usa, chiamandoti "signor mio" come sempre ti chiamerò e terrò, perché tu hai fatta cosa che merita che così ti nomi. Io da te riconosco questa povera vita, la quale eternamente sarà ad ogni tuo voler ubidientissima". (*Ibid.*, 215). Later on, when Salimbene calls upon him to announce his resolve to marry Angelica, he welcomes him with these words: "Signor mio, che comandi?". (*Ibid.*, 216). — In Painter we are first simply told that Montanini, "not knowing what present to make to Salimbene, but of himselfe and hys syster, purposed to impart his minde to Angelica." (ed. Jacobs, III, 308), and Fenton is hardly more explicit: "Havinge nothinge worthy to present the frendshipp of Salimbino but himselfe and his sister, (he) determined to impart his present resolution with the fayre Angeliqua; and after dispose themselves, by mutuall assent, to make a tender and franke offer of that whych was in theym, to be employed on the behalfe of him and his as he lyste to ymagine the occasion". (ed. Douglas, I, 51). — Montanini's offer of himself to Salimbene is less clearly stated by Painter than by Bandello: "You may not thinke it straunge (sir Salimbene) if against the Lawes and customes of our Common Wealthe, I at thys tyme of the Nyght doe call you up, for knowyng the Bande wherewyth I am bound unto you, I must for ever confesse and count my selfe to be your slave and bondman, you having don a thing in my behalf that deserveth the name of Lord and maister". (ed. Jacobs, III, 319). At least the words used by Painter seem to imply a moral rather than an actual relationship. In Fenton, Montanini's declaration is more long-winded, but hardly more definite: "Albeit the offers of servitude be alwayes moste hatefull to freemen, and that the noble hart can hardly brooke to strike sayle for any sommance of adversitie, yet the bonde of a good tourne, or benefyt alreedy don, levieth such alarums of reynorce to the mynde environned with vertue, that she forceth not only an equall consideration and recompence, but also claymeth a continuall remembrance and thankeful recordacion in him who was firste partaker of the benefyt. Wherin as I fynde my selfe specially touched, above all that ever was blessed with frendshipp

when Montanini has left his sister with Salimbene, Belleforest imagines a tender scene between the two lovers, in the course of which Anselmo gives to Angelica his assurance that he will not take her except as his wife, for which there is no equivalent in Bandello¹. And in all this, except for the fact that Fenton does not quote the despairing poetry of Charles Montanini, the Frenchman is followed by his two English translators.

They follow his lead also when telling the story of Dom Diego.

not looked for in this world, so, Seigneur Salymbyno, I hope you will excuse me, yf, in the firste place of my catalogue of thanksgiving, I honor you (contrary to the lawes and customes of our common welth) with the title of Lorde and Maister; seinge the vertue of your selfe, declared in the greatest distresse that ever hath or coulde happen unto me, doth not only yelde you by justice such title, but also challngeth at my hande a bonde of no lesse dutifull and continuall service towardes you, then you expect of the moste drudge and slave that foloweth your traine". (ed. Douglas, I, 68). — Finally, when Salimbene calls upon Montanini, Painter omits the latter's welcoming words to his benefactor, and Fenton writes that "skarcely givinge leave to the interteynementes and proffers of court wherwith Don Charles saluted hym *and his compaignye*", (*Ibid.*, 73), Salimbene immediately proceeds to inform him of his resolve to marry his sister.

1. Bandello simply writes that: "Anselmo intesa la preposta di Carlo e quivi veggendo quella che unicamente amava, e parendogli che ella ancor che ripagnato non avesse a Carlo non pareva contenta, stette buona pezza sospeso. Poi chiamata una sua zia che in casa era, volle che con le sue donne facesse compagna ad Angelica. Egli uscito di camera mandò a chiamare tutti i suoi parenti ed amici, i quali in poco d'ora tutti vennero". Whereupon he makes known to them his fresh-taken resolve to marry the maid (ed. Brognoligo, II, 216). In Painter, "taking hir by the hand, and holding hir betwene hys armes", he assures Angelica, in a long speech interrupted by kisses, that "none other than Angelica Montanine shall be the wyfe of Anselmo Salimbene". "At these good Newes", Painter goes on, "the drouisie and wandryng Spirite of the fayre Siena mayd awaked, who endyng hir teares and appeasing hir sorrow, rose up, and made a very lowe reverence unto hir curteous fryend, thanking hym for hys greate and incomparable liberalitey, promising all service, duetie, and Amitye, that a Gentlewoman ought to beare unto him, whom God hath reserved for hir Spouse and husband. After an infinite number of honest imbracements and pleasaunte kisses given and received on both partes, Anselmo called unto him one of his Auntes that dwelled within him, to whome he delivered his new Conquest to keepe, and speedily without delay he sent for the next of his Kinne and dearest friends". (ed. Jacobs, III, 320-321). According to Fenton, "at the same instante hee toke (Angelica) betwen his armes, and, proffringe certeine chaste kysses, dried her watrye eyes of teares, whiche ceased not to droppe with greate abundance", at the same time promising to make her his wife in a long speech interrupted in the middle "with a fresh charg of honest kysses", and thereupon Angelica dries her tears, thanks him, and promises to be a dutiful, loving wife to him, very much as in Painter. "Wherewith, after they had spent some litle momente in embrasinge one an other, and certein kysses given and received recyprocallye betwene them, Anseaino knocked for an olds awnte of his....." (ed. Douglas, I, 70-72).

Here is a tale that must have given to the sentimentally and romantically inclined reader unalloyed satisfaction. The same probably as if being told how Amadis, after receiving from Oriana a sentence of banishment prompted by a mistaken belief that he has transferred his affections to another lady, retires into a solitude, where he feels the most exquisite despair till the angry maid relents and recalls him. For if there is in Ginevra's make-up something less noble than in Oriana's (she is eloping with her mother's steward when she is seized upon and taken by force to Dom Diego, and finally restores him in her affection only after having through her harshness and obstinacy inflicted various new sufferings upon him), Dom Diego is decked like Amadis with all the knightly graces and accomplishments, and like him he is a model lover. This he is in all versions of the story, whether Italian, French or English. Yet here also Belleforest has heightened the romantic atmosphere in various ways. He has suppressed one at least of the incidents in Bandello's novel that tended to divert the attention from the two chief characters¹. Better still, he has developed all that belongs to sentimental rhetoric, not being content with putting many speeches in the mouths of the lovers and their friends, but also giving pieces of verse that are sung when the lovers are together before their estrangement, or composed by Dom Diego to vent his despair and relieve his oppressed heart when in his solitary retreat in the Pyrenees. Contrary to his usual practice, Fenton himself quotes some of the latter as well as all the speeches and letters. Painter faithfully reproduces all the purple patches, whether prose or verse. And it will be remembered that Whetstone included in his *Rocke of Regard* two "love-passions", of his own devising, supposed to be breathed out by Dom Diego when thrown out of his mistress's favour and when reinstated into it.

It is not easy to see what such a treatment as we have been endeavouring to describe could have added in the way of idealization to the story of Anne, the Queen of Hungary, which Painter took straight from Bandello. As with that of Dom Diego, the interest of this story lies very largely in the elegant expression of fine feelings. They are those of two very noble characters. Philipppo is only a "meane gentleman", but to quote Painter's own words in the introduction, original with him, which he prefixed to his

1. Cf. Sturel, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

translation, he is "learned and well furnished with commendable qualities", and fully deserves to be "preferred, and liberally rewarded" by the Queen¹. For his love is so pure and disinterested that he never thinks of asking from the royal lady anything contrary to the nicest honour, but remains content with feeding his eyes upon her sight and giving her every mark of a most devoted and respectful attachment and, contrary to his friends' persuasions, goes on loving her even while knowing that he can gain nothing thereby. He is another model of a perfect lover. His lady for her part is a true pattern of chastity, gentleness and courtesy. In his introduction, Painter also extols "the noble disposition of this chaste and gentle Queene", and offers it as an example to "you noble Dames for a Christall to sharpen your sightes, and viewe the recompence of love, done by a Queene of passing beauty, and yet most chaste and vertuous, that it might somewhat touch your squeymish stomackes and haulty hearts, and lenifie that corrosive humor, which with frowning face, forceth you to overperke your humble suppliants"². Indeed she will not enter into an intrigue with Philippo, not even a Platonic one. But she shows him all the courtesy consistent with her virtue, thus affording another proof of her graceful disposition, and this gives rise to many a charming scene, somewhat ceremonious it may be, but full of elegance and refinement, and quite justifying the promise of "*molti belli accidenti*" given in Bandello's title³. Of course, when Philippo puts into the Queen's hands copies of sundry modern Italian lyrical poems, not only is the text of that one which she believes him to be the author of quoted by Bandello, but it is also translated into English verse by Painter, for the reader's benefit and enjoyment. And here is in what choice terms our gentleman discovers his love to the Queen when she comes to him with flowers in her hand, and asks him who would receive them if he were to bestow them upon her whom he loved best among the ladies present :

"When he had recovered stomack, so well as he coulde with soft and trembling voice, he answered the Queene in this wise : "Sith your majesty (to whom I yelde myne humble thanks for that curtesie) hath vouchsafed to commaund me (besides the infinite pleasure and

1. Ed. Jacobs, II, 384.

2. Ed. Jacobs, II, 383.

3. "Narra messer Filippo Baldo come Anna reina d'Ungaria amata da uomo di basso legnaggio magnificamente rimeritò, con molti belli accidenti".

honour, for which eternally I shal stande bound to your highnesse) I am ready sincerely and truely to dysclose my mind, being promised by your majesty in opening of the same, to deserve great thanks : Wherefore your pleasure being such I do say then, with all due reverence, that not onely here at thys tyme, but at al times and places wher it shal please god to appoint me, being not able to bestow them in other sort than they be, but wer they more precious and fayre, the more joyfull I should bee of them. These floures I say shall of me right humbly be presented to your majesty, not bicause you be a Queene and of a royal Race (whych notwythstandinge is a great vertue) but bicause you bee a Phoenix, a rare Lady, and of all the troupe the fayrest, garnished with infinit gifts, and passinge vertues, for your merites worthy to be honoured wyth farr more excellent gifts, than these simple floures be, as she that (above all other Ladyes that live at this day) is the honour and onely glory of all womanhoode of our age, as shee that is the Paragon peerelesse of the universal worlde". When he had sayd those words, he held his peace. The Queene with great delight hearing the ready aunswere of the yong Gentleman, sayd unto hym : "And we do give you thanks for the great honor and commendation done unto us" ;¹.

It is a far cry from this atmosphere to that which surrounds the Countess of Celant, the Lady of Chabrye, or Pandora. With its characters who hold their passions well in check, and whose minds and souls are graced with every refinement of feeling, manners and language, there is no more pleasant novel than this one among all those which the English translators of Bandello turned into their native idiom.

Unless it be that of Seleucus and Antiochus, which Painter also took straight from Bandello. Here the reader may derive some enjoyment from the ingenuity with which Erisistratus brings Seleucus to the point of resigning Stratonica to his son. He is even more bound to admire the king's disinterestedness and readiness to sacrifice himself so that his son may be happy. At the same time, this sacrifice is essentially romantic, since it is a cherished wife whom Seleucus resigns to the claims of a younger love that better agrees with her years. And Antiochus on his part fully deserves his father's generous gift, since he loves his stepmother in spite of himself, strives to forget her, and is ready to die rather than reveal his unlawful feeling to any one. Romance and idealism could hardly go very much further than they do here.

¹. Jacobs, II, 393. For the corresponding Italian passage, see ed. Brognoligo, II, 357.

Contrarywise it seems that the story of Barbara, another one of those for which Painter went straight to Bandello's Italian, is not quite so idealistic as it could have been made in other hands. Barbara is indeed a perfectly sensible, chaste and faithful wife, and the portrayal of her qualities is what is most material in her story. Still, all the attention is not centred upon it: interest is also evoked by the description of the magic picture of his wife which enables Ulrico to know whether she remains faithful in his absence; by the relation of the talk at the court of Ulrico's Lord and Master which leads to his wager with the two knights who undertake to make Barbara break her marriage vows; by the account of Barbara's very deft, spirited and witty victory over her assailants. More important, it is in some way hinted all along that such virtue as Barbara's is exceptional. The two knights are convinced of the essential frailty of woman, and Ulrico himself is not far from sharing their opinion. He brings himself to leaving his wife only after being possessed of the picture that will enable him to keep an eye on her from afar, for women require constant watching, and only makes his wager with the two knights after this picture has bred in him a confidence which on general principle he did not feel. As Belleforest never translated this novel, it is not possible to say what he would have made of it. As it is, the optimistic note is not so clearly sounded in it as in those which we have just been considering.

A comparison between the fate of Barbara and that of the other virtuous heroines in the novels out of Bandello will show, nevertheless, that her story rightly belongs in this group. Julia suffers both defilement and death, while her ravisher escapes scot-free. Though Lucius and the tyrant who has condoned his murder of Micca are finally overtaken by ruin, Micca herself only finds refuge from dishonour in death. Of these heroines, Parolyna alone succeeds in preserving both life and virtue. But even she is threatened with the most brutal assault. Barbara at least is never reduced to such straits as she. The triumph of her virtue is as easily won as it is complete, and no brutal scene intervenes to divert the moral reader's attention from it, and prevent his contemplating it with quite unmixed satisfaction. In this light did Whetstone consider it when, in his *Rocke of Regard*, he played moralizing variations upon it.

Among the novels in which the hero is made to undergo a change

of heart for the better, it is perhaps not quite correct to say of that of Mahomet and Irene that it ends happily, since it shows Mahomet brutally murdering the fair captive whom he loved, and for whose company he neglected the duties of a prince and a mighty conqueror. Yet it offers the spectacle of a man wrenching himself free from the domination of his passion in order to listen to the call of duty, clearly and eloquently sounded in Mustapha's speech to his master. This it does in the same way in *Bandello*, *Boaistuau* and *Painter*. For, as *Sturel* has remarked, *Painter's* model has in this case added almost nothing to *Bandello's* narrative ¹.

In others of the same kind, no tragical admixture intervenes to qualify the optimism of the conclusion. After long suing her in vain, *Luchyn* spares *Janiquetta* when the hardness of her fortune drives her to put herself entirely in his power. When the Countess of *Salisbury* comes to him and on her knees begs him for death at his hands rather than dishonour, *Edward III* abandons his unlawful purpose and makes her an offer of marriage which she accepts with a joyful heart. Nothing could be better calculated to raise pleasant emotions in a sentimental reader. Yet one notices that even here, in the passage from the Italian to the English, the process of idealization has been at work.

Painter's story of the Countess of *Salisbury* is founded upon *Boaistuau's* version. What changes the Frenchman had caused *Bandello's* novel to undergo have been carefully noted down by *Sturel*, and it will suffice here to recall his conclusions. *Boaistuau* has occasionally suppressed some speeches, some historical allusions, some moral reflections ². But he has also so modified the attitude of his characters, especially of the king and of the countess's mother, as to make it appear in a less objectionable light. He has heightened the value of the king's change of heart, and of his offer of marriage to the countess, by making him announce it, not in the presence of a few familiars, but before the whole court assembled for the purpose. Finally, he has dwelt with greater insistence than *Bandello* upon the expression of the feelings of his characters, quoting a letter written by the king to the countess, as a last attempt at overcoming her resistance, which is entirely his own invention, and otherwise greatly developing their speeches

1. *Sturel, Op. cit.*, 11.

2. *Sturel, Op. cit.*, 13-14.

and tinging those of the king with a ceremonious gallantry foreign to those which Bandello had credited him with ¹. In various ways the king has become with him more polished, more refined, more courtly and, even while his passion is raging, less oblivious of the claims of morality.

As for the story of Luchyn, as against four pages in Bandello, it stretches over forty-five in Fenton, whose "Discourse" as usual plays sundry rhetorical variations round the text of Belleforest without altering its substance. Everywhere the situations indicated in a few lines by Bandello are developed at great length ; everywhere the heroes launch into long speeches ; everywhere an attempt is made at analysing their feelings. Particularly noticeable in this respect is the expression of Luchyn's despair when he finds that Janiquetta will not grant him his suit. Here again Belleforest makes him pour his sorrow out in verse. Fenton omits his poetry, but for the rest he consistently follows the lead of his model. With both, much the greater part of the space is taken up by an account of the court unsuccessfully paid by Luchyn to Janiquetta. It runs according to the usual pattern, and is so managed as to set in strong relief the young girl's honesty and virtue. The daughter of poor parents, she was gentle and courteous, and when she met Luchyn, which was often indeed, felt herself in duty bound gracefully to return his salute. Luchyn, who belonged to one of the best families in Genoa, was an accomplished courtier, and she never thought of him, or indeed of any other, as a possible lover. But one day her eyes were opened by a friend. They were busy sowing at Janiquetta's and, seeing Luchyn stationed opposite the window, Janiquetta's friend complimented her upon the fine lover that she had gained. At these words Janiquetta took fire ; she did not mean, she said, to take any lover or to listen to any one's addresses. So henceforth she avoided Luchyn as much as possible. The only result was that he declared himself openly. Of course he did not find her ready to comply. When he had recourse to a go-between, she not only remained proof against her pleadings, but also rebutted them very eloquently, thereby throwing the young man into a despairing languor that left him hardly strong enough to move abroad. And this honesty she preserved after her marriage, even though Luchyn never ceased hankering

1. *Ibid.*, 15, 20 and 27-28.

after her till he generously refused to take an unfair advantage of her misfortune and, having done so, never troubled her with his importunities any more. Of course all this is interspersed with many moral reflections. Once more the French and English translators of Bandello have made of one of his novels the occasion for indulging in moralizing and sentimental rhetoric.

So they do also in the novels in which a twist has to be given to the events recorded in order to lead the tales to a happy conclusion. Quite typical in this respect is that of Alexander of Medici and the Miller's daughter, in which a happy turn is given to events fraught with tragedy through the intervention of the just prince who compels his favourite to redress the wrong that he has done. This novel, again, is much longer in Painter and in his model Belleforest than in Bandello. Once again Belleforest has loaded it with moral reflections, with speeches, with bits of crude psychological analysis. He has also lent greater poignancy to the grief of the ravished maid and of her father, has made his account of the rape more harrowing and, as Sturel has shown, has now and then introduced into the narrative slight changes calculated to give greater piquancy to the situation ¹. While in general outline the story remains the

1. For the latter point see Sturel, *Op. cit.*, 63. As for the rape, Bandello dispatches it in one sentence: "Pietro quella notte, con poco piacer de la giovane che tuttavia con singhiozzi e lagrime mostrava la sua mala contentezza, colse il fiore de la verginità di lei e tutta notte con quella si trastullò, sforzandosi di farsela anica e tenerla qualche tempo a posta sua"; (ed. Brognoligo, III, 26). In Painter's relation one reads: "When the poore Wenche saw hir Vertue ready to be spoyled by one, who (not in Maryage joyned) wente aboute to vyolate and possesse the same, and knewe that afterwarde hee woulde vaunte hymselfe for the Victorye of sutch a precious pryce: "Alas (quod she) is it possyble that the Soverayne Justyce of God can abyde a Myschiefe so greate and curssed, and that the Voyce of a poore Wretched afflicted Mayde cannot be heard in the presence of the Myghty Lord above? Why may not I nowe rather suffer Deathe, than the Infamy which I see to wander before myne Eyes? O the good olde Man my deare and loving Father, how farre better had it bene for thee to have slayne mee wyth thy Dagger, betwene the Handes of these moste wycked Theeves, than to let mee goe to bee the praye of those my Foes that seeke the spoyle of Vertue, and the blotte of thy reputation. O happy a hundred hundred tymes bee yee, which have already passed the inevitable tract of Death when ye were in cradle, and I poore unhappy Wench no lesse blessed had I bene if pertaker of your Joy, where now I rest alyve to feele the smarte and Anguish of that Death more egre to support, than that which devydeth the body and soule". The Gentleman offended with those complaynts, beganne to threaten, that hee woulde make hir forget hir disordered behaviour, sayinge that shee must change an other tune, and that hir plaints were to no purpose amongs them which cared not, nor yet were bent to stay uppon hir Womanishe teares, Lamentations and cries..... Whereunto the mayde aunswered

same in the English and in the French as in the Italian, and is so managed as to extol, in Painter's phrase, the "gentle and just act of Alexander de Medices" and set up a model for the reader to admire, the romantic element is more strongly stressed in Belleforest and Painter.

Finally some of these novels, while less insistent upon the relation of praiseworthy deeds and the portrayal of admirable characters, lead worthy heroes, through a chain of wonderful incidents, to a happiness which they richly deserve. Such are, for instance, those which relate the fortunes of Alerane and Adelasia and of the Duchess of Savoy. It will be remembered that Bandello had given in the former of these a long account of the loves of his two heroes, previous to their elopement, founded upon Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's history of Lucrece and Euryalus. This was again amplified by Belleforest, whom Painter follows step by step. With them, once more, the speeches are longer and more numerous, and the heroes occasionally break into verse, whereas in Bandello they confine themselves to prose utterances. Occasionally also the moral note is sounded. But here the ends of morality are made to subserve those of romance, and little more is done than praising the sincerity of Adelasia's love, that made her content to undergo many hardships in order to be with Alcrane, and to remain devoted and faithful to him to the very end. And thus the happy ending takes upon itself the aspect of a reward of both love and virtue.

In the story of the Duchess of Savoy Painter again follows Boaistuau in making the atmosphere more decidedly moral than it was in Bandello. With them, not only is Pancalier not so cynical as in the Italian, but the Duchess is not carried quite so far along the road that would make her forgetful of her duty to her husband.

nothinge but Teares and Syghes, wringing hir Arnies and Handes, and sometymes makinge Warre uppon hir fayre Hayre. But all these Feminine Waylinges nothinge mooved thys Gallant, and lesse Remooved hys former desire to have hir, which hee atchieved in dispite of hir Teeth, so soone as hee arryved at his owne House». Perhaps, though, the effect of all this is considerably weakened by a sentence like the following, in which this sixteenth century plebeian victim of a nobleman's lust is credited with feelings which would not seem unworthy of Richardson's Pamela: "Voluntarily (she) woulde have killed her selfe lyke a Lucrece, if the feare of God, and dreadfull losse of Body and Soule, had not turned hir mynde, and also hoped in God that the Ravysher should repayre the fault whych he committed, and beare the penauie for his temerity, whereof she was no whit deceived, as yee shall perceyve, by that which presently doth follow". (ed. Jacobs, II 416-418).

And yet, though her fault has been less, she shows a stronger inclination to regret it. Often indeed Boastuau evinces religious preoccupations that were foreign to Bandello. Bishop though he was, Bandello had imagined a rather coarse contrivance, devised by the duchess's woman and her lover to make it seem as if St James of Compostella had miraculously cured her of her supposed illness, in which there is more than a suspicion of scoffing at the practices of the church. Boastuau replaces this by the duchess's solemn vow to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St James if she recovers. He also makes Mandozze, when he comes to confess her in the disguise of a friar, address her a long speech, in which, as Sturel puts it : « l'Evangile et l'Ancien Testament sont mis à contribution, et le témoignage de saint Paul se fortifie du commentaire de saint Ignace ». Apart from this, he develops all that belongs to sentimental rhetoric in the same manner as in the story of the Countess of Salisbury ¹.

These traits, which to some extent alter the spirit of Bandello's novel, are even more strongly marked in Thomas Peend's metrical translation. He introduces into his narrative moral reflections : on the mutability of fortune when the duchess finds herself in danger of her life through the treachery of Pancalier (f^o E 5 v.) ; on the dissimulation practised by the duchess towards her husband and feminine proneness to imposture in general (f^o C 7) ; on Pancalier's knavery and human treacherousness in general (f^o G 1) ; and this even leads him occasionally to string together various proverbial sayings by way of comment upon his tale ². Sometimes these moralizing pieces are more directly related to the story, as when her maid addresses to the duchess, who has just learned that Mandozze cannot come to her rescue, some words of comfort to which attention is drawn by this marginal note : "Exhortacion to pacience : by the Translathor" (f^o H 2 v.). Fairly often also Peend analyses the feelings of his heroes. He even credits Pancalier, when he has been smitten by the beauty of his lady, with feeling

1. See upon these various points Sturel, *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16, 21, 25 and 28-32.

2. For instance on f^o D 5 :

"It neadeth not to byd / hym go, that runnes awaye,
It neadeth not by force to dryve / the horse that wold not staye.
Few wordes maye soone perswade / the judge that is content :
Even of his owne accorde unto, / the case for to consent.

in his heart a combat between reason, duty and lust (f^o F 1). But it is especially what passes in the heart of the duchess that he endeavours to describe, whether she dream at night, after her meeting with Isabell, of the beauty of Mandozze, or give way to despair both when she is charged with adultery and when she learns that Appian has failed in his mission to Mandozze. Of course all this is highly rhetorical. Thus the duchess exclaims upon the last mentioned occasion :

My force doth faile, my sences quaile, / by payne of pinching paine.
O ground gape thou on wyde, / my selie soule receave,
Syth in dystresse, all comfortlesse / now me my frynde doth leave,
O gentle death come now, / refuse not her to take,
Whom everye one ahlas : a wretche, / doth utterlye forsake.

After which she invokes Lachesis, the Fates and various other powers, begging them hasten to deliver her from her unfortunate plight, and her speech is again pointed out to the reader's attention by a marginal note : "A dump : by the Translator" (f^o H 3 v.). At times, indeed, it looks as if Peend were indulging in rhetoric for its own sake. Thus he gives, while mentioning the wars between Mandozze and his enemies : "The Captaines Oration to Souldiers : Added by the Translatour", (marginal note on f^o B 2 v.). Or again to some simple lines of Boaistuau he substitutes a rather lengthy descriptive passage :

« Madame Ysabeau partie d'Espagne, ayant traversé les monts Pyrenées passa par la France, & surmontant les Alpes s'en vint à Turin, ou le duc de Savoye avoit lors pour femme une sœur du Roy d'Angleterre. Laquelle avoit le bruit d'estre la plus belle femme, de toutes les parties Occidentales ».

Thus Boaistuau (Histoire 6, f^o 121). As against this one reads in Peend :

"Departed then from Spayne, / on *Pirenees* anon
She mou(n)tes. Those hils being left behynd, / through Fraunce when
And past the utmost parte / therof. As shee on hie [she is gon,
Beholdes the haughty *Alpes* hylls, / that reache unto the skye.
As she possessed had / the hyghest of them all :
Dispyng then the cloudes benethe / and Cities seming small,
At last with downeward eyes, / Right goodly she espies,
The Cytie Thurin fayre, / that noble famous towne :
The duke of Savoy his ancient seate / whose wyfe had su h renowne,
For bewtyes lovely grace : / that every wheare her fame

With worthy praise, had blown about / the glory of her name.
 For as to *Helen*, shee / was matche for goodly grace :
 Even so her fame renoumed was / as much in every place.
 Dame Nature tried in her / the force of all her art,
 Iwrought by wo(n)drous worke, of her / appeared everie part.
 This Duches, syster was / unto the puissant kynge
 Of happy Ile, in Occean wyde, / whose sacred soyle doth bringe
 In feild such valiunt men, / and doth with plenty greate,
 Increase al things, which may for the(m) / in any wise be meate.
 Devided from the worlde, / a world alone it is :
 Which of it selfe sufficientye / hath all comodyties.
 Norward, not farre beyond / the noble countrey France.
 And Troian *Brute* his land it was / which stories olde advance". (fos B 6
 and 7).

Which indeed takes the reader rather far away from the main trend of the story. Though it must be said for Peend that such digressions are not usual with him. Most often, on the contrary, he so well concentrates upon his story that he tries to make his reader realize what is taking place in the hearts of his characters. He even endeavours to describe the outward manifestation of their emotions. Those of the duchess, for instance, after Mandozze has spoken a few courteous words to her upon their first meeting :

"The Duchesse now therefore, / thoughe shamfast blood with in
 Her blushing cheakes : do stay her tunge / her tale for to begyne :
 The blood as red as rose / within her face so cleare,
 (O beuties force) it did present, / a passyng lovelye cheare,
 With modestie devine, / she rules her twyncklyng eyes,
 And smokyng sighes ful sweete also / she castes up to the skyes,
 The crystall teares do fall : / from downe her face with all.
 When reason had at last; / the woefull band undon,
 Which staid her tung with Angells voice / to speake she thus begon".
 (fos E 3 v. et E 4).

V

So far all our attention has been centred upon the way in which the English translators and adapters of Bandello handled their subjects so as to make their tales more moral, sentimental and rhetorical. A comparison of the wording and phrasing of the translators with those of their models, and a study of the slight changes, the suppressions and additions, which they introduced

into the texts of Bandello, Boaiſtuau and Belleforest will reveal the ſame characteristics.

Enough has been ſaid already to give a fair idea of the practice of the verſe translators in this reſpect. Beſides, it is perhaps natural that a metrical translation ſhould not be very cloſe and ſhould add to the original embellishments of a ſentimental, rhetorical or, if one takes into account the ideas of the time as to the function of poetry, moralizing and didactic nature, with the reſult that no particular ſignificance ſhould be attached to the fact. But there is undoubtedly a greater meaning in the adoption of the ſame practice by the proſe translators.

Among theſe, Barnabe Rich and R. Smyth may be left out of account. For their departures from the wording of their models are for the moſt part confined to thoſe into which they are betrayed by their clumsineſs and imperfect underſtanding of the text before them. With Painter and Fenton, on the contrary, it is plain that in many caſes they ſtrike an independent path quite deliberately. A conſideration of their practice is indiſpenſable to a full definition of the ſpirit informing the translations into Engliſh of novels out of Bandello.

Painter generally ſtrives to be a faithful translator. When his model is a French one, however, he ſticks to his text more cloſely than when he is translating from the Italian. Theſe two aſpects of his work will beſt be conſidered in ſucceſſion.

He ſometimes miſtakes the import of his French original or ſhows ſome clumsineſs in his rendering of it. Koeppeſ and Munro have noted a few inſtances of this defect. The following may be added here :

Mustapha ... ſ'accosta un jour de l'Empereur Mahomet, lequel entretena(n)t ſes penſées, ſe pourmenoit ſeul en ſon jardin (Boaiſtuau, 2, f^o 32).

Ce pendant qu'ils ſe donnoient là dū bon temps (Boaiſtuau, 4, f^o 90).

Le deſaſtre de ſa maiſon... luy ſervoit d'un contre-poison aux inſolences d'une fortune proſpere (Belleforest, 7, f^o 4).

J'en fuſſe peult eſtre demeuré

Mustapha ... repaired to the Emperour upon a daye, who liking well his deviſes, walked with him alone in his Gardeine (I, 40, Jacobs, I, 192).

While they twoo had ben there a good ſpace (I, 43, Jacobs, I, 244).

Thoſe inſolent doinges ſerved unto him as a counterpoyſe to proſperous fortune (I, 44, Jacobs, I, 250).

It might have bene that I ſhould

quicte pour la perte de quelques uns de mes gents (Boaistuan, 6, f^o 134).

& voulut qu'il donnast un reveil à sa Dame, laquelle estoit à la fenestre à une jalousie escouta(n)t, & le son de l'instrume(n)t (Belleforest, 20, f^o 50).

Il se faisoit fort de travailler si bien, qu'à la fin il acquerroit par son humble service quelque part aux bonnes graces de madame (Belleforest, 8, f^{os} 40-41).

Tel s'efforce de vivre libre de passion, qui au milieu de son effort se sent violenter, & voit le ravissement de sa franchise, quelque empeschement qu'il y vueille donner (*Ibid.*, f^o 43).

Je n'ay pas bouché mes oreilles, de peur d'estre arrestée, par la violence de voz charmes (Boaistuan, 5, f^o 99).

At other times it would seem that Painter has purposely departed from the wording of his model. His sturdy English patriotism accounts for the following :

Durant cecy Philibert alloit à gra(n)des journées... vers ce beau, & plaisant pays de France, auquel regnoit pour lors Charles vij : celui bon prince, qui miraculeusement(n)t chassa les Anglois de ses terres, & ancie(n) patrimoine, l'an mil quatre cens cinquante & un. Or avoit le Roy pour lors son camp en Gascoigne, & se portoient si bien ses affaires, que les ennemis n'avoient gueres plus dequoy se fortifier audit pays. Qui fut cause que le Roy, ne voulant perdre une si bonne occasion, proposa de s'hyvre sa fortune, & oster

have remained quiet by the losse of some of my people (I, 45, Jacobs, I, 298).

And desired him to gieve awake unto hys Lady, that then for jealousy was harkeninge at hir window, both of the sounde of the Instrument... (II, 24, Jacobs, III, 70).

He toke such paynes by his humble service, that in the ende he acquired some part of his Laydes good grace and favour (I, 41, Jacobs, I, 200).

He inforceth him selfe to live free from passion, which in the middes of his inforcement, feeleth him selfe to be violently constrained, and seeth the taking away of his libertie, to be a certaine impeachement, whiche thereunto hee would geve (*Ibid.* 202).

I have stopped mine eares for feare, that I be not arested and stayed with the violence of your charmes (I, 42, Jacobs, I, 220).

In the meane tyme Philiberto rode by great Journeys... towardes the goodly, and pleasaunte cuntry of Fraunce, wherein Charles the Seventh that tyme did raygne, who miraculously (But gieve the Frenchman leave to flatter, and speake well of hys owne Countrey, accordinge to the flatteringe, and vauntinge Nature of that Nation) chased the Englishemen out of hys Landes, and Auncient Patrimony in the yeare of our Lord 1451. This Kynge had hys Campe then Warrefaringe in Gascoine, whose Lucke was so Fortunate as

la Normandie à celuy mesme ennemy, des mains, & servitude duquel il avoit delivré son duché de Guienne (Belleforest, 13, f^o 170).

hee expelled hys Ennymies and left no Place for theym to Fortify there, whych Incouraged the Kynge to followe that good Occasion, and by Prosecutinge hys Victorious Fortune, to Profligate out of Normandie, and to dispatch himselfe of that Ennemy, into whose Handes, and servitude the Countrey of Guyene was ryghtly delivered, and Victoryously wonne, and gotten by the Englishmen (II, 27, Jacobs, III, 183-84).

When not accidental, the change can more often be ascribed to moral preoccupations. Painter will not sully his page with the jocular indelicacies of Belleforest, not even with those that are not quite unquotable. As thus :

Elle ... trouva bien tost les moyens de venir aux prises avec son Amant, où il fut si bon maistre, & tant do(n)na de secousses à sa douce guerriere, qu'il la mist dessous, & jouant le dessus, fut neantmoins, apres plusieurs ruses, contraint de quitter la partie, & differer le reste à une autrefois (Belleforest, 23, f^o 118).

She ... speedily found meanes to satisfie hir lover's sute, but not in sutch manner as was desired of eyther partes, wherefore they were constrayned to defer the rest untill an other time (II, 33, Jacobs, III, 370).

He carries niceness in this respect very far indeed :

L'Empereur se retire avecques sa Grecque, & s'esgayant tout le jour & la nuict avec elle la caressoit des plus delicates caresses qu'il eust point encores faict (Boaistuan, 2, f^o 36).

The Empercur went into the Greeke, with whom he rejoyced all that day and night, and made more of her than ever he did before (I, 40, Jacobs, I, 196).

His greater sternness even leads him into altering passages with nothing indelicate about them. The following has to do with a steward's love for his mistress :

Un maistre-d'hostel de ceste maison..... commença à l'aymer & servir en son cœur, & à souhaiter le plus beau qui apparoissoit exterieurement en elle, & ou il ne

A certaine man, that was Stewarde of this nobleman's house... began to love her and serve her in harte, and to wishe for the fairest thing which outwardlye

devoit bailler attainte que de l'œil (Belleforest, 8, f^o 40).

did appeare to be in her, where he oughte not so much as with the loke of his eye to give any atteint of liking (I, 41, Jacobs, I, 199).

Sometimes also he adds a deeper religious note :

Il se confina de luy mesme en un petit hermitage a deux mille pres de Vero(n)e, ou il vesquit encore depuis cinq ou six ans, en continuelles prieres & oraisons, jusques à ce qu'il fut appellé de ce monde en l'autre (Boaistuaue, 3, f^o 85).

He voluntarily gave over the World, and closed himselfe in an Hermitage, two miles from Verona where he lived 5 or 6 yeares, and spent hys tyme in continuall prayer, until he was called out of this transitory worlde, into the blisful state of everlasting joy (II, 25, Jacobs, III, 124).

Painter's moral preoccupations seem indeed to have gathered strength as time went on, as would appear from the fact that whereas in his first volume he leaves out the moralizing "arguments" which Boaistuaue and Belleforest prefix to their "histoires", he always translates them in his second volume. In this volume also he sometimes interpolates into his text moral considerations of his own. The following occurs in the course of reflections upon the Count of Valperga's taking of the Countess of Celant for his mistress. We italicize what is original with Painter :

Beholde an Earle well served, and dressed by enjoying so false a Woman, which had already falsified the fayth betrouthed to hir husband, who was more honest, milde, and vertuous than she deserved. *Beholde also, yee Noble Gentlemen, the simplicity of this good Earle, how it was deceyved by a false and filthy strumpet, whose stincking lyfe and common use of body woulde have withdrawen ech simple creature from mixture of their owne wyth sutch a Carrion. A lesson to learne al youth to refrayne the Whoorishe lookes of lighte conditioned Dames, a number (the more to be pittied) shewinge foorth themselves to the Portsale of every Cheapener, that list demaunde the pryce, the grozenes whereof before considered, were worthy to be defied and loathed.* This Ladye seeinge her Lover noused in hir lust, dandled him with a thousand trumperyes, and made hym holde the Mule, while other enjoyed the secrete sporte which earst hee used hymself (II, 24, Jacobs, III, 59-60).

At other times his interpolations are more in the nature of rhetorical embellishments. The current handbooks of Rhetoric taught that it was advisable to enliven a speech or a narrative

with an anecdote. When translating from Belleforest a speech delivered by the youngest of the Lords of Nocera with a view to obtaining his suzerain's help against the captain of the citadel, Painter gives additional weight to his argument against rebellious people by inserting into it a relation of the apologue of the members of the human body. Or he makes the first husband of the future Countess of Celant report a neat saying of Paulus Aemilius the better to justify the little freedom that he allows his wife :

They which at pleasure so speake of me, know not yet the nature of my Wyfe, who I had rather should be somewhat restrayned, than run at Rovers to hir dishonour, and my shame. I remember wel madame the proper saying of Paulus Emilius that notable Romane : who being demauned wherefore he had put away his Wyfe being a Gentlewoman so fayre and beautifull. "O", (quod he and lifted up his leg whereupon was a new payre of Buskins) "yee see this fayre Buskin, meete and seemely for this Leg to outward apparance not greivous or noysome, but in what place it hurteth me, or where it wringeth yee doe neyther see nor yet feelee". So I, madame, do feelee in what place my Hoase doeth hurt and wring my Legge (II, 24, Jacobs, III, 47).

Again, Painter supplements the historical allusions with which Belleforest dots his pages with others that are more directly interesting for English readers. For instance in the story of the King of Morocco :

And bycause I am assured, that curteous Myndes will delyght in deedes of Curtesie, I have amonges other the Novelles of Bandello, chosen by François de Belleforest and my self, discoursed thys, albeit the matter be not of great importance. For greater thynges and more notorious curtesies have bene done by our own Kinges and Prynces. As that of Henry the eight a Prynce of notable memorye in hys Progresse into the North the xxxiii. yeare of his raigne, when he dysdayned not a pore Miller's house being stragled from his trayne, busily pursuing the Hart, and ther unknowne of the Miller, was welcomed with homely cheare, as hys mealy house was able for the time to minister, and afterwarde for acknowledging his willing Mynde, recompenced him wyth daynties of the Courte, and a Pryncely reward. Of Edward the thyrde, whose Royall Nature was not displeased pleasauntly to use a Waifaring Tanner, when devyded from his Company, he mette hym by the way not far from Tomworth in Staffordshire, and by cheapening of his welfare steede (for stedinesse sure and able to carry him so farre as the stable dore) grewe to a price, and for exchange the Tanner craved five shillings to boote betwene the Kings and his. And when the King satisfied with disport, desired to shew

himself by sounding his warning blaste, assembled all hys Trainee, and to the great amaze of the poore Tanner, (when he was guarded with that Troupe) he well guerdoned his good Pastime and familiar dealing, with the order of Knightthoode and reasonable revenue for the main-tenaunce of the same (II, 35, Jacobs, III, 418-19).

Once at least, also, we see him copy Belleforest's manner with Bandello to the extent of writing out a speech, uttered by the Count of Celant in the course of a discussion with his Lady, which Belleforest had only hinted at. All in the following quotation that comes after "baren dales of Savoy" is original with him :

The foolish Countesse ... did cast him in the teeth sometymes with hir riches that she brought him, sometime with those whom she had refused for his sake, and with whom farre of she lived lyke a savage creature amid the mountaine deserts and baren dales of Savoy, and tolde him that by no meanes she minded to be closed and shut up like a tamelesse beast. The Counte which was wyse, and would not breake the Ele uppon his knee, providently admonished hir in what wise a Ladye ought to esteeme hir honor, and how the lightest faults of Noble sorts appeare mortal sinnes before the world : and that it was not sufficient for a Gentlewoman to have hir body chaste, if hir speach were not according, and the minde correspondent to that outward semblance, and the conservation (*sic*) agreeable to the secret conceiptes of Mynde : "And I shall be ful sory swete Wife" (sayd the Counte) "to give you cause of discontent : for wher you shalbe vexed and molested, I shall receive no joy or pleasure, you being [such one as ought to be the second my self, determining] by God's grace to keepe my promise, and use you like a wyfe, if so be you regard me with duety semblable : for reason will not that the head obey the members, if they shew not themselves to be sutch as depend upon the health and life of it. The husband being the Wyve's chiefe, ought to be obeyd in that which reason forbiddeth : and shee referring hir selfe to the pleasure of hir head, forceth him to whom she is adjoyned, to do and assay all travayle and payne for hir sake. Of one thinge I must needes accuse you, which is, that for trifles you frame complaynt : for the mynde occupied in folly, lusteth for nothings more than vayne things, and those that be of little profite, specially where the pleasure of the Bodye is onely considered : where if it follow reason, it dissembleth his griefes with wordes of wysedome, and in knowing mutch, fayneth notwithstanding a subtil and honest ignorance : but I may bee mutch deceyved herein, by thinking that a Woman fraught with fickle Opinions may recline her eares to what so ever thing, except to that whych deliteth hir mynde, and pleaseth the desires framed wyth in hir foolyshe fantasie. Let not thys speach be straunge unto you, for your woordes uttered without discretion, make me use thys language : finally (good madame) you shall shew your selfe a Wyse

and loving wyfe, if by takinge heede to my requests, you faythfully follow the advise thereof". The Countesse whych was so fine and malicious as the Earle was good and wyse, dissembling her grieve, and coveringe the venome hidden in hir mynde, began so well to play the hypocrite before hir husbände, and to counterfayte the simple Dame, as albeit he was right politike, yet he was within hir Snare intrapt, who flattered hym wyth so fayre Wordes, as she won him to goe to Casal... (II, 24, Jacobs, III, 53-54).

Great as it was, his fondness for rhetoric seldom drives him, however, to such important departures from his original. He even happens to lower its pitch :

Amurath ... prenant une si cruelle vengeance des Grecs, que la memoire des playes en seigne encores à present (Boaistuau, 2, f^o 34).

Amurate ... used such cruell revengment over the Greekes, that the memorie of the woundes do remaine at this present (I, 40, Jacobs, I, 194).

But more commonly he gives the sentence an ampler, more resounding ring. He uses two or more words where there was only one in the French :

Vous vous estes si bien donné en prayë à une simple femme, que vous dependez entierement de ses blandisses & mignotises, sans que raison ou conseil puissent trouver place en vostre cuer passionné (*Ibid.*, f^o 33).

Your owne selfe hath given over your selfe to be a spoile and praye to a simple woman : that you wholie depend upon her flatteries and allurementes : reason or counsaile can take no place in your passionate and afflicted hart (*Ibid.*, 193).

C'est pourquoy il fault que les grands seigneurs vivent de telle sorte, & se maintiennent si honestement, que personne n'ait occasion de prendre mauvais exemple sur le discours de leurs faicts & vie mauvaise (Belleforest, 19, f^o 1).

Wherefore it behooveth the Noble, and sutch as have charge of Common wealth, to lyve an honest Lyfe, and beare their port upright, that none have cause to discourse uppon their wicked deedes and naughty life (II, 23, Jacobs, III, 3).

He adds a few words, or a clause, so as better to round off the sentence :

Je vous prie bien fort venez souvent boyre & manger avec moy (Boaistuau, 4, f^o 90).

I pray you hartely therefore to come hither many times, to visit us and therewithal to participate such fare as God doth send (I, 43, Jacobs, I, 243).

Je n'ay autre soucy que vivre solitaire, & passer mes ans en repos, sauf en ce que je pcurray faire pour continuer mon service envers la maison, de laquelle je suis le serviteur (Belleforest, 19, f^o 4).

Je veux donc, dist-elle, & le vous cc(m)mande sur la foy que m'avez promise, que dès l'heure presente, jusqu'à trois ans expirez, vous ne parliez à personne viva(n)te, pour chose, qui vous puisse avenir: autrement, j'auray occasion de ne me fier plus en homme, qui vive (Belleforest, 13, f^o 167).

Thinking to have lived a solitary life, and to passe my yeres in rest, except it were in the pore abilitye of my service to that house, wherunto I am bound continually to be a faithfull servaunt (II, 23, Jacobs, III, 7).

"I will then" (quod shee) "and commaund you upon your promysed faith that from this present time, untill the space of three yeres be expyred, you speake to no lyving person for any thing that shall happen unto you, nor yet expresse by tonge, by sound of word or speache what thing you wante or els desyre, whych requeste if you do breake, I will never truste living man for youre sake" (II, 27, Jacobs, III, 180).

He has a happy knack, besides, of resorting to picturesque idiomatic phrases that throw a flash of vividness into his narrative. « Les maniaques » he renders by "the Mad and Bedlem persons" (II, 23, Jacobs, III, 12). We subjoin two more examples, culled out of a great many :

Le malicieux maistre d'hotel ... commença aussi à caresser ce jeune homme, & l'aposta si bien, & façonna si accortement à sa poste, qu'il luy faisoit & faire, & dire tout ce que bon luy sembloit (Belleforest, 8, f^o 48).

Toute la maison de l'Empereur fut emeuë pour l'absence d'Adelasia (Belleforest, 7, f^o 25).

The malicious Steward ... began also to make much of that yonge Cockescome, in such wyse as he had brought him into such fooles paradise, as he mighte make him do and saye what he liste (I, 41, Jacobs, I, 207).

All the Emperour's house was in a great hurly burly and stirre for the absence of Adelasia (I, 44, Jacobs, I, 271).

Vividness Painter also attains by inserting into his tale concrete picturesque details that are not to be found in his original :

Ce que le postillon sceut si bien desguiser qu'il la luy presenta pendant qu'il soupoit (Boaistuau, 4, f^o 91).

Whiche matter the post did handle so well, as he brought the letter, when he was at supper, with botes on his legges all durtie and raied, as though he were

Au troiesieme coup d'espée qu'il luy rua, il le renversa mort par terre d'un coup de pointe qu'il luy avoit donné en la gorge, si qu'il la luy persa de part en part (Boaistuau, 3, f^o 56).

newly lighted from his horse (I, 43, Jacobs, I, 245).

At the third blowe with his swerd hee caused him to fall backwarde starke deade uppon the grounde with a pricke vehementlye thruste into his throte, whiche hee followed till hys Sworde appeared through the hynder parte of the same (II, 25, Jacobs, III, 96).

Perhaps it is the same love of the concrete that causes him to apply to the hero or heroine of his tale remarks which in his model have a general import :

Tant est grande la force de la vertu, que non seulement s'este(n)d-elle sur ceux, qu'elle embrasse, ains contraint ses haineux à l'avoir en quelque admiration (Belleforest, 8, f^o 40).

Such is the great force of vertue which not onely did advaunce her above other creatures, but also did constrain the envious to have her in admiration (I, 41, Jacobs, I, 199).

Painter also applies the same process, but with more important additions and interpolations, to his translations from Bandello. Here also he is guilty of various inaccuracies, and some of them again are due to an imperfect understanding of the Italian text :

Avvenne che quel giorno il re aveva sotto un cavallo che per il velocissimo suo correre tanto gli era grato, che mille altri de li suoi per salvezza di quello averia dato, tanto più ch'oltra la velocità del corso era attissimo a le scaramucce e fatti d'arme (I, 2, Brognoligo, I, 17).

It chaunced that day the kinge rode upon a horse, that was the swiftest runner in his stable, which hee esteemed better then a thousande other, as wel for his velocity, as for his readinesse in factes of armes (II, 4, Jacobs, II, 179).

La donna ...in tal maniera gli rispose : — Ulrico — ché tale era il nome del cavaliere — io medesimamente più e più fiato ho pensato a la grandezza dei vostri e miei maggiori, da la quale parendomi che noi senza colpa nostra siamo assai lontani, mi andava imaginando che modo si potrebbe trovare a metterci meglio in ar-

The Gentlewoman... answered hym in thys wyse : "Sir Ulrico", (which was the name of the Gentleman) "I in lyke manner as you have done, have devysed and thoughte upon the Nobilitye and Byrth of our Auncestors, from whose state and port (and that wythout oure fault and cryme) we be far wyde and devyded. Not-

nese di quello che siamo (I, 21, Brognoligo, I, 263).

wythstanding I determined to set a good face upon the matter, and to make so mutch of our paynted sheath as I could (II, 28, Jacobs, III, 199).

The following, however, can hardly be looked upon as accidental :

E considerati la grandezza de l'animo del giovine, incolpò la natura che in uomo bassamente nato avesse sparso seme che così generoso ed alto core avesse fruttato (I, 45, Brognoligo, II, 165).

And considering the valor of hys minde, she praysed Nature, for that in a man so basely borne shee had sowed the seeds of a gentlemanlike and noble heart (II, 21, Jacobs, II, 401).

The discrepancy in this last instance seems to arise from a difference in the moral outlook of the two writers. Perhaps it is also because he is less easily reconciled than Bandello to attitudes involving some moral weakness that, after saying like him that Micca's parents advised her to answer the summons of Lucius since they saw no way of resisting the tyrant and his friends, he adds a sentence that has no counterpart in Bandello :

Alas, how sore agaynst their willes, with what trembling gesture, with what horror the good parentes of this tender pusill were affected, to consider the purpose of that dreadefull message, all dere fathers and naturall mothers can tell (II, 5, Jacobs, II, 210).

Stronger than Belleforest's, his moral preoccupations are still more so than those of the Italian *novelliere*. They are revealed, in the first instance, through the occasional addition of a few lines of comment, introducing general considerations on the ways of men or the nature of human destiny. The following examples are taken respectively from the story of Anne of Hungary and from that of the Two Gentlewomen of Venice. We italicize again what is original with Painter :

And if perchaunce for some occasion, the Queenes went not to Church, maister Philipppo for all that (were his businesse never so great and needefull) would vouchsafe at least wise to visite the place, where he was wont to see his Lady. *Sutch is the ordinary force of love that although liberty of sight and talke be depryved from the pacient, yet it doeth hym good to treade in the Steps of that Ground where his Mistresse doth usually haunt, or to see the place uppon whych she eased hir tender corps, or leaned hir delicate elbowes* (III, 21, Jacobs, II, 386).

Or again :

And as they were aboute thys devise, an occasion chaunced utterly to dissolve theyr accustomed meetynges, but not in that sorte as they woulde have had it. *For the Women determined as merily they had begon so jocundlye to ende : but Fortune the guide of Humane Lyfe, disposeth all enterpryses after hir owne pleasure, who lyke a puissant Lady caryeth with hir the successe of eche attemple. The beginning she offereth freely to him that list, the Ende she calleth for, as a ransome or trybute payable unto hir* (II, 26, Jacobs, III, 133).

At other times the addition is of a more decidedly moral cast. Painter fits some of the novels that he translates from Bandello with moralizing introductions of his own. So he does for instance, in the stories of Sophonisba, of Anne of Hungary, and of Barbara. The same tendency is responsible for his independent comment upon Aloisio's fall from the window of Gismonda :

Sutch Chaunces happen to earnest Lovers, who when they think they have scaled the top of theyr Felicity, sodaynly tumble downe into the Pit of extreme despayre, that better it had ben for them leysurely to expect the grace of their Ladyes at convenient place and houre, than hardily without providence to adventure lyke desperat souldiers to clym the top of the vamure, without mesuryng the height of the Wals, or viewynge the substaunce of theyr Ladders, do receyve in the ende cruell repulse, and fal down headlonge either by present Death or mortall Wounde, to receyve everlastyng reproche and shame (II, 26, Jacobs, III, 134).

Most often, however, if Painter alters the text of Bandello, it is in such a way as to heighten the rhetorical colours. He will quote a piece of verse, addressed by a lover to his mistress, that is entirely of his own devising, or write out in full a speech the general trend of which only had been indicated by Bandello¹. He will also insert into a moralizing development a string of historical examples of his own :

Have wee not red of many, and knowne the lyke that to gratifye their prince and mayster, have into a thousande daungers and like number of deaths, adventured their own propre lives? Marcus Antonius that notable oratour beyng accused of incest, and broughte to the judgement seate, his accusers required that his servaunte should

1. See for instance II, 26, Jacobs, III, 129-30, a piece of verse written in honour of one of the Gentlemen of Venice by her neighbour, and II, 38, Jacobs, III, 210, the first speech addressed by Barbara to Alberto.

be called, for because he bare the candel before his maister, when hee went to do the deede, who seying his mayster's life and death to depend upon his evidence, utterly denyed the facte : and notwithstanding that he was whipped, racked, and suffered other cruel tormentes, would rather have loste his lyfe than accuse and betray his mayster. I could alleage and bring forth in place, the example of Mycithus, the servaunt of one Anaxilaus Messenius, the fidelitye of the servauntes of Plotinus Plancus, the faythful mayden called Pythias, that waited upon Octavia, the chast Empresse and wife of that monster Nero, with divers other : but that I thinke they be to the learned wel knownen, and of the unlearned the vertue of servauntes fidelitye is greatly liked and commended (II, 4, Jacobs, II, 176).

Or again he will add a few lines to a speech translated from Bandello. These words, for instance, with which Megistona concludes in her prison her refusal to comply with the request of Aristotimus :

... For if thou were a king as thou art a tyrant, if thou were a Gentleman borne of noble kind as thou arte a slave, proceeding from the devil, thou wouldest never execute thy cursed cruelty against a feble kind, such as women be, and werest thou alone joyned in singular combat with my valyant and dere beloved husband, thou durst not hand to hand to shew thy face : for commonly it is seene, that the Courtly Ruffyan backed on wyth such mates as he is himself, careth not what attempt he taketh in hand, and stares with hayre upright, loking as though he would kil the devyll, but when he is preast to servyce of the field, and in order to encountre with his Prynce's foe, upon the small sway by shocke or push that chaunceth in the fight, he is the first that taketh flyght, and laste that standeth to the face of hys ennimy. Such kind of man art thou, for so long as our husbands wer farre of, absent fro theyr Country, not able to rid us from thy thral, thou wroughtest thy malyce then against theyr wyves at home, doying the greatest cruelty towards them and theyr suckyng babes, that ever devyl could do upon the damned sort, and now thou seest them arrived here under our country walles, thou flyest and seekest help at women's hands, whose power if it served them according to their willes, would make thee tast the fruit of thy commytted smart (II, 5, Jacobs, II, 215-16).

Even more interesting than these interpolations are the slight changes that, without altering the substance of Bandello's text, give it a more rhetorical complexion. Painter sometimes makes it more metaphorical and antithetical :

Ma perché egli s'avvide d'esser	But bicause he sawe that love
ito tanto innanzi che più tornar	had fixed so deepe footing, that
a dietro non poteva, deliberò con	he was not well able to retire, hee

lunghi e faticosi viaggi vedere se egli qualche tregua a le sue pene trovasse (II, 55, Brognoligo, IV, 81).

determined after long sorow and great turmoile, to seke some quiet haven to reste his weather beaten barke, that had ben tossed with the waves of pensife and sorowful cogitacions (I, 27, Jacobs, I, 102).

Sometimes he uses two words for Bandello's one, or adds a short clause the better to round off the sentence and give it a more sonorous ring :

Come tu sai, Siface è stato dai nostri soldati preso (I, 41, Brognoligo, II, 108).

Syphax as you know is taken prisoner by the valyance of our men of warre (II, 7, Jacobs, II, 243).

Più tosto la menerò ne l'ultime parti de l'incognita ed arenosa Libia, ove tutta la contrada è di serpenti piena (*Ibid.*, 112).

I would rather convey hir into the extreme partes of the unknown sandy Coaste of Libia, where the countrey is full of venomous beasts and crawling poysoned Serpents (*Ibid.*, 249).

Occasionally also he adds to his original a touch of more dramatic vividness :

A la fine, vinto da le sue passioni, al padre se ne ritornò (II, 55, as above).

In the end victorious love toke him prisoner and caried him home againe to his father's house (I, 27, Jacobs, I, 103).

Questa fortuna devoratrice de le nostre contentezze...col suo velenoso dente di maniera morde i figliuoli che in breve tempc tutti miseramente se ne muoiono (I, 56, Brognoligo, II, 274).

This wicked Lady Fortune, the devourer of all our contentations, ... with hir venomous Tooth biteth the children, that in short space myserable death catcheth them al within his dreadfull Clouches (II, 9, Jacobs, II, 258).

Together with the use of picturesque, idiomatic phrases, all these devices are to be found in rapid succession in a passage like the following :

Conoscendo poi quanto il padre la moglie amasse e tenesse cara, Diceva molte fiata tra sé : — Sono io Antioco figliuolo di Seleuco? sono io quello cui il padre mio tanto ama, così magnificente onora e sovra ogni reame apprezza e stima? Oimè, se io son quello,

Who seing the great love that his father bare to his wife, and the joyfull tyme that hee spent with faire Stratonica, transported into many carefull panges, many times complained to him selfe in this wise. "Am I Antiochus the sonne of Seleucus? Am I he that my

ov'è l'amore e la riverenza che io gli porto? È questo il debito del figliuolo verso il padre suo? Miserò me! ove ho io l'animo, la speranza e l'amor mio collocati? Può egli esser che tanto ceco e fuor del vero senso io sia, che io non conosca deversi da me la bella matrigna in luogo di vera madre tenere? Se così è, ché pur il conosco, che adunque amo io? che bramo? che cerco? che spero? Ove mi lascio 'cosí scioccamente a l'ingannevole e ceco amore e a la lusinghevole speranza trasportare? Non veggio io che questi miei desideri, questi mal regolati appetiti e queste mie sfrenate voglie hanno del disonesto? Io pur lo veggio e so che quello che vo cercando non è convenevole anzi è disonestissimo. E che biasimo ne riceverei io, se questo mio sì poco ragionevole amore si publicasse? Non deverei io piú tosto elegger la morte che pensar già mai di privar il padre mio di quella moglie che egli cotanto ama? Lascero adunque lo sconvenevole amore e, ad altro rivolgendo l'animo, farò ufficio di buono ed amorevole figliuolo verso il padre (Bandello, II, 55, as above).

father loveth so well, honoreth so much, and estemeth better then al his realmes and dominions? Alas if I be Antiochus in deede, the sonne of so loving a father, where is the duetifull love, and bounden reverence that I ought to beare unto him? Is this the duetie of a sonne towards his father? Ah wretche and caitife that I am. Whether hath grosse affection, vayne hope, and blynde love caried me? Can love be so blynde? Shall I be so voyde of sence, that I know not my mother in law from an other woman who loveth me no lesse, and entertaigneth me so wel, as if she were mine own mother, that laboured with painful panges; to bring me into light? Which being true, as it is most true, why then do I love her? nay rather more then love her. Why doe I seke after her? What meane I to hope for her? Why doe I precipitate so fondlye into the snares of blynde and deceiptfull love, and into the trappe of deceiptfull hope? Can I not perceyve that these desyres, these unstayed appetites, and unbrydeled affections, doe proceade from that whiche is dishonest? I see well enough that the waye I take leadeth mee into great inconvenience. And what reproche should I sustayne, if this unreasonable love were made common to the world? Ought not I rather to suffer infamous death, then to see my father depryved of suche a wyfe, whome hee so derely loveth? I wyll give over this unsemely love, and reverting my mynde to some other wyght, I wyll accomplishe the duetie of a good and lovinge sonne towards his father (I, 27, Jacobs, I, 103).

All this is indeed not essentially different from the method pursued by Painter in his translations from the French. But when dealing with the Italian text of Bandello he resorts to such rhetorical heightening more frequently. He also carries it further, and amplifies upon his original more fully than he did upon his French models :

Restò Pompeo senza fine pieno d'ammirazione, parendogli assai strano che così di leggero dovesse volontariamente una persona ber il veleno (I, 56, Brognoligo, II, 273).

Egli era la stagione che i fiori e le rose cominciavano a prestar odorato ornamento a le piagge ed ai giardini (I, 45, Brognoligo, II, 156).

Non sai che Sofonisba con le sue ciancie ha il re Siface nostro confederato alienato da noi e fatto prender contra noi l'arme? Vinci l'animo tuo, Massinissa... (I, 41, Brognoligo, II, 109).

Pompeius hearing tell hereof, was driven into great admiration, and thought it very straunge, that a woman which al the dayes of hir life had lived in great honour and estimation, shoulde upon light cause or occasion poyson her selfe sith it was naturally given to ech breathyng wyght to prolong theyr living dayes with the longest threede that Atropos could draw out of dame Nature's webbe (II, 9, Jacobs, II, 257).

It was then about that time of the yere, wherein al floures and roses were by Titans force constrained to adorne and decke ech gardens and place of pleasure, and with their fragrant smells and odors, to sent the same in the moneth of May : it was when the Twinnes were dysposed to shroud themselves amongs the hawthorn boughs and honysuckles that yeld to every wyght greatest store of delyghts (II, 21, Jacobs, II, 391).

Doe you not know that Sophonisba with her toyes and flatteries did alienat and withdraw king Syphax from our amitie and friendship, and made hym to enter force of armes against us? Be you ignoraunt that she, full of rancor and malice aganyst (*sic*) the Romane people, endevoured to set al Affrica against us, and now by her fayre inticementes hath gayned and wonne you, not I say our ennemy, but an ennymy so farre as shee can, with her

cruell Inchauntments? What Damage and hurt have lyghted uppon dyvers Monarches and Prynces through sugred Lippes and Venemous Woordes, I wyll not spend tyme to recite. With that (what?) provocations and conjured charmes shee hath already bewitched your good nature, I wyl not now imagine, but referre the same to the deepe consideration of youre wisdome. Wherefore Massinissa, as you have bene a Conquerer over great nations and provinces, be now a conquerer of your own mind and appetites, the victorie whereof deserveth greater prayse than the conquest of the whole world (II, 7, Jacobs, II, 243-44).

Thus in various ways Painter makes Bandello more grandiloquent in the English than he was in the Italian. But he also makes him more vivid, more concrete, more dramatically alive, sometimes even adding a touch of robustious humour that brings into his page all the vigour and sanity of Elizabethan England. An instance in point is his description of the behaviour of Alberto, the would-be seducer of Barbara, after she has laid her trap for him by inviting him to stay in her castle :

Il barone, avuta questa così al parer suo buona riposta, si tenne per il più contento ed avventuroso uomo del mondo e non averia voluto acquistar un reame. Onde, ringraziata quanto più seppe e poté la donna, si partí e ritornò al suo albergo, pieno di tanta gioia e tanto lieto che non capeva nel cuoio (I, 21, Brognoligo, I, 273).

The Baron hearynge this Lyberrall offer of the Ladye, thinking that he had obtained the summe of al his joy, so glad as if he had conquered a whole kingdome, the best contented man alive, thanking the Lady for hir curteous answere, departed and retourned to his Inne. God knoweth uppon howe merry a Pinne the hearte of this young Baron was sette, and after he had liberally banketted his hoste and hostesse, pleasantly disposing himselfe to myrth and recreation, he wente to bed, where joy so lightned his merry head, as no slepe at all could close his eyes,

sutch be the savage pangs of those
 that aspyre to like delights as the
 best reclaimer of the wildest hawk
 could never take more payne or
 devise mo shiftes to Man the same
 for the better atchieving of hir
 pray than dyd this brave Baron
 for brynging hys Enterprise to
 effect (II, 28, Jacobs, III, 211).

To sum up, most of the characteristics of the Elizabethan translator in general, such as they are described by Mr Matthiessen from a study of four outstanding representatives of the class, are to be found in Painter¹. Over and above these, which make the English texts more rhetorical and more vividly dramatic than the foreign originals, he has greater displays of erudition and deeper moralizing touches. These we find in Fenton, together with a more consistent effort at analysis, to an even greater degree.

With Fenton, the question of the accuracy of the rendering scarcely arises². For he is hardly ever content with merely translating. His nearest approach to it consists in rendering the same idea as his original in a great many more words. Where Charles Montanini simply says to Anselmo Salimbene in the French novel: « Ma vie est tienne », Fenton amplifies this into: "I lyve to serve the, and am ready to dye to do the pleasure" (I, Douglas, I, 57). The same French passage in the story of the Lord of Virle is variously rendered by Painter and by him as:

Ah Mistresse, howe may I bee Ah good madam, although my
 able to recompence that onely lytle hablenes denies me sufficient

1. "His diction was racy and vivid, thronged with proverbial phrases, the slang of the streets, bold compounds, robust Saxon epithets, and metaphors drawn from English ports and countryside. The structure of his sentence reveals the growing tendencies of the time, the passionate delight in fullness of expression, the free use of doublets and alliteration, the building up of parallel constructions for the sake of rhythm. Perhaps his greatest gift, that which more than any other accounts for the freshness and vigor of his work, was one which he shared with the dramatists of his day. He had an extraordinary eye for specific detail. Whenever possible he substituted a concrete image for an abstraction, a verb that carried the picture of an action for a general statement. The result was an increased liveliness, a heightened dramatic pitch that often carried the words into a realm of imagination and feeling unsuggested by the original". Matthiessen, *Translation: an Elizabethan Art*, p. 4.

2. Still one may observe that: Nourris en l'escolle d'un Romant de Tristan (Belleforest, 26, f^o 167), becomes with him: Brought up in the skool of one Romanto Tristano (5, Douglas, I, 208).

benefite which you promyse me now? But be sure that you see heere a Souldier and Gentleman presente which shall no lesse bee prodigall of hys Lyfe to doe you servyce, than you bee lyberall of your reputation, to ease his Paines. Now sith it pleaseth you to shew sutch favour to offer me your helpe and support in that which payneth me, I require no more at your hands, but to heare a letter which I shall wryte to mystresse Zilia (Painter, II, 27, Jacobs, III, 165):

meanes to measure the rewarde of your franke offer accordynge to the meritt of your great curtesie, yet, bcholde! heare a soldiour and gentleman, bounde to be no lesse prodigall of his lyfe, and spende the dearest dropp of his blodd in your service, then you seme liberal of your estimation for the appeasyng of his greff. And seying your promisse is so farr past, by wordes of confirmation, to do your beste for me, as the same ymportes an assured hope of spedie helpe to comme by our (your?) meanes, the chiefest thyng that I committ to your frendshipp is to deliver a letter from me to Madame Zylia (Fenton, II, Douglas, II, 180).

It is not that Fenton's rendering is so very much longer than Painter's. But it clearly evinces a fondness for a less direct, more complex, involved and redundant way of putting things.

Yet Fenton does not always add to his model. For one thing, we have already noted that he most often omits the pieces of verse with which Painter and Belleforest intersperse their narrative even more frequently than Bandello. Sometimes also he leaves out an historical allusion, though why he should do so is not apparent¹, or briefly indicates the gist of a speech of some secondary character, which Belleforest had quoted at length². The reason for such omissions does not seem to be discoverable. Whereas it is plain that he was guided by moral and religious considerations when forbearing to translate this sentence of Belleforest: « Les sains escritz sont vrayement la pasture de l'ame, mais si un Esprit malin, & sens reprouvé les manie ils tournent a la ruine de l'homme »³.

1. In his Discourse 1, for instance, he omits an allusion to Pompey from reflections upon the theme of "Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos", cf. Douglas, I, 31. The same tale is translated by Painter, II, 30, and Pompey is there with the others, cf. Jacobs, III, 295.

2. Thus, in Discourse 2, the speech of Camilla's father after the discovery of his daughter's and of Livio's bodies (Douglas, I, 127). See the speech in Belleforest, 22 f. 112.

3. Belleforest, 22, f^o 86; cf. Fenton, Disc. 2, Douglas, I, 86.

A page for page and line for line comparison of his Discourses with the corresponding French novels, however, would yield but relatively few examples of this process of omission or summing up. As a rule, Fenton considerably amplifies upon his model. The opening of his Discourse 1 offers as good an example of his usual manner as any. The quotation is a long one, but its length seems necessary in order to set in their true light Fenton's method and the abundance of his developments. He had before him in Belleforest a fairly brief statement to the effect that the internal peace of Sienna was disturbed when the great friendship between the two families of Montanini and Salimbene was turned into implacable hatred, together with some reflections upon the frequency of such feuds in Italian cities. He not only shows himself far more circumstantial in his description of the changed relations between the two families, and of the state of Italy, but he also invokes in support of it various historical parallels and authorities not mentioned in his French original, and adds thereto lengthy moralizing reflections derived from Aristotle :

Ceux cy estoient au commencement si grans amis, & se frequentoye(n)t avec telle amiti^é & habitude, qu'il sembloit que ce ne fust qu'un mesme sang & maison, estans tousjours de compagnie, & se banquetans les uns les autres. Mais estant l'Italie de tout temps, co(m)m^e un Magasin de troubles, & vray marché de seditions, ligues & partialitez, voire de guerres civiles par toutes les villes, il falloit que Siene ne fust point la cité seule, laquelle se resjouyst avec sa liberté en la paix & union de ses citoyens, & se vantast de ne sçavoir que c'estoit que de discorde particuliere : car de guerres en a elle assez expérimenté contre les Florentins, qui de lo(n)gue memoire ont fait tout ce qu'ils ont peu pour se la rendre subiette. Or la cause de ceste discorde vient de ceux là mesmes, qui tenoyent les citoyens en accord, & fut occasio(n)nee par ces deux maisons,

Whose parentes, allbeit, and predecessours, were of singler commendation, by the vertue of mutuall societie whiche appeared so entyer and indissoluble betwene them by manye discentes, that the writers in that age douted not to tearme theym no lesse true myrroers and patterns of perfect frendship than either Horestes or Pylladas, which the Romain orator makes so famous by peculiar commendation ; yet, according to the opinion of Aristotle, as children commonly do rather exceede their fathers in vice then resemble them in vertue, so the posteretyes of these noble houses, in place to persever in the vertue of their parentes or treade in the steppes of their aunciente amytie, in the verie entrey of their flourishing time, when al men were in expectation of verteous frutes like to their fathers, withe hope to confirme the league of their long

les plus fortes & puissantes de leur Republique : & entendez comment... (Belleforest, 21, f^o 58).

friendshippe, they embrased sinister occasions of civil mutines, grounding great quarrels upon slender or smal substance, with a disposition and equall desyre the one to pursue the other wyth suche fatal hate and unnaturall tyranny, that as the one was almost brought even to the brinke of utter desolation of hys house and revenue, so the other (triumphing, albeit, in the conquest of his enemye) escaped not only without perentory perill of himselfe, and losse of a number of his deare kinsmen and companions of race, but also was enjoyned to so harde a penance that he lyved alwayes after in the continuall grudge and desdaine of the people : the viewe of whose malice, preferring a wonderful remorse of conscience, with remembrance of the fowlenes of the acte passed, pursued hym with alarams of unnaturall and frettinge disquiet of minde, even untill the last separation of his soule and body. And here, if you conferre the quarrell with the cause, and waighe in indiffrent ballance the mischives, morders, with infinit inconveniences, derived of so small occasions, you nede not doubt to joyne in opinion with Paulus Jovius, and other writers worthy of no lesse credyte then of greate fame for learning and skil ; who, amongst other generall descriptions of Italy, giveth her this peculiar commendacion, that, beyng subject to th'influence of a crabbed clymate and quarrelus constellation, termes her to be (of al the world) the only storehouse for percialites and civill faccions, and market place of tumultes and suborned troubles : which I colde

also justefie by th'authority of the warres betwene the Florentines and the Syennoys, with other free states in the countrey ; besides the civill discencions among the nobility, with unnaturall persecutions of families and kindreds ; saving that the discourse wolde seame more tedijs then necessary, and keep me to longe from the principal points of my history, which calles me now to perform my promisse, and satisfye the expection of the rearder (Disc. 1, Douglas, I, 20-21).

Upon the next page, he amplifies in the same way a development of Belleforest's upon the advantages and disadvantages of hunting. We limit our quotation to what each writer has to say upon the latter point, Fenton again going into greater detail and adding one historical example of his own :

Neantmoins sont de la chasse procedez de gra(n)s malheurs, & s'en sont ensuyvis de dangereux esclandres. Meleager en perdit la vie, pour la victoire rapportee sur le sanglier de Callydoine : Cephale y tua sa chere Procris, & Acaste en fut interdit, aya(n)t occis le fils du Roy, qui luy avoit esté do(n)né, en charge (Belleforest, 21, f^o 58).

Yet is not thys pleasaunt skirmishe and necessary recreation for youth wythout some argument of greate, and almoste absolute assurance of diverse sortes of misfortunes : for we reade that Meleager loste his lyfe in killing the wilde boare of Calidona : Cephale for the lyke respect kylled his deare frende Procris : the notable philosopher, Acast, having th'only credite for education of the heir apparaunt of his prince, and honouring albeit the childe with more then an ordinarye affection, yet hunting on a tyme among the deserts of that countrey, contrary to the wil of the King (for that he was warned by a prophecy of the death and destruction of his soune in castynge darte at the boare), slewe hym whom hee loved as muche or more then himselfe. Besides, for a familiar profe of my allegation in this case, yt is not yet viij

yeres since the Countie Palatine, one of the chiefe princes of Germany, being lost of hys companye in pursewing the chassee of a fierce boare, was overthrowen, horse and man, and in daunger to be deuoured by the furye of the beaste, if, by good chaunce, hys ryder with ij freshe dogges had not ben at hand to prevent his perill (Douglas, I, 22).

We shall return to Fenton's trick of making his descriptions much more circumstantial than they are in his original. For the rest, except that he is far more unrestrained in his use of examples and moralizing reflections¹, his manner is, so far, not essentially different from those of Boastuau, Belleforest and Painter.

There is something more original, and rather significant if one thinks of the future success of the Euphuistic style, in the fact that he usually develops his reflections through a string of proverbial phrases or of examples culled from natural history. Both the following are independent additions to his text :

Is it possible alas! that that whyche I judged a dissembled passion in thys infortunat gentleman shoulde torne to a true effecte of undowted faith, confirmed by the power of that whiche we call love in the hartes of men? Why haue not I considered that the horse whyche is of noble corage will be governed by the shadowe of a rodde, where the dull beaste is skarcely sturred with the princkyng of the spurres? The fearefull dogge dothe also barke more then bite, and depest rivers do runne with leaste noyse. So nature hathe imparted a peculiar instinct to the noble minde, not only to be more delicate in diet, and ardante in affection, but also to embrace the objecte of their fancie with a more vehemencie of desire and passion then the rest of the rude and grosse sorte, who are not worthy to be partakers of the misteries in true love (Disc. 2, Douglas, I, 108).

Here the erle had great reason and double pollecie in seking to reforme th'abuses in his wif without th'assistance of crueltie or constraint ; for that suche disposicions are rather reduced by faire intreaity, then reclaimed by feare or force of torments, according to the nature of diuerse of th'insensible creatures. For the fierce elephant

1. As other examples of the same, in Discourse 1, the commonplaces at the beginning of the speech uttered by Charles Montanini when offering his sister to Anselmo Salimbene (Douglas, I, 68) are not in the French original. Nor are, p. 71, the rather long reflections comparing the generous behaviour of the two young men.

standes not in awe of his keaper by force of any stripes, but is made tractable to bende his lardge bodie whiles he mounte upon his backe, by certeine familiar voices and stroakings of his keper, wherewith he overcometh the naturall rudenes and crueltie of the beaste. The tygre will take foode at the handes of the wildman norished in the caves and desert habitacions amongst them, where no stripes, nor other awe of man, can move any moderacion to his wodnes or cruell nature : so, likewise, some women, albeyt they are quite devested of all honor or honestie, yet they are founte to reteine some sparkes of civil humanitie, beinge more easelye broughte to a reformation by gentle order, then reclaimed by the smart of any torture or crueltie. Wherein, notwithstandinge, this countesse seemed to use a more extremity, and excede the doinges of any that ever have bene noted of disorder that waye ; for neither gentle perswacions colde allure her, nor feare nor force reduce her to reconcilement or amendement of life, but accordynge to the stone of Scylia, upon whom the more you beate to bruse or breake yt in peces, the greater hardnes is dryven into it, so the greater indevor th'erle used to persuade his wyfe, eyther by allurement or offer of correction, the more perversatie he founde in her, with lesse hope of amendement (Disc. 7, Douglas, II, 18-19).

In this way did Fenton also apply the precepts taught in the handbooks of rhetoric. This teaching it is also, doubtless, that accounts for his being at times so very circumstantial. Together with his taste for a refined, complicated and redundant way of putting things, this too often drags him down into mere logomachy. Yet it was full of interesting possibilities for the development of the novel. For it meant presenting a given situation under all its aspects and in all its bearings, analysing, however awkwardly, the feelings of the heroes, describing in concrete terms their appearance and gestures and the display of their emotions. An example of the first may be seen in Fenton's description, quoted above, of the feud between the Siennese families of Salimbene and Montanini and its effects upon each of them. Another occurs in the "argument" of the same Discourse :

Et si Philippe Marie, Duc de Milan, merite vitupere eternal, pour l'ingratitude de laquelle il usa à l'endroit de sa femme Beatrix, la faisant mourir secretteme(n)t, ayant eu ses biens & grans thresors, un Barbare Turc, & Arabe de nation, emportera le los sur luy... ..(Belleforest, 21, fo 57).

If the acte of Philip Marya, late Duke of Myllan, deserveth detestacion for the unnaturall crueltye he committed upon the person of his wife (who, albeit, was equall in nobilitie, exceded him in the giftes of fortune and large possessions, of indifferente beawtye to contente a reasonable man, no-thinge inferior to the beste ladye

of the countrey in the ornaments of nature and giftes of grace, and yelding him besides suche honor and honest love as was necessary for the state of mariage, yet, notwithstandinge, was he so unthankfull to all these benefites, that, after he had colled the flower of her beautye, and forced her to passe an assuraunce of her goods and lyvyng to his use, hee committed secret execution, and washed his handes in the blod of th'infortunate ladye, contrarye to all civilytie or lawe of nature), if he, I saye, seame justly meritorious of reproche, we maye worthely imparte treble prayse to a barbarous Turke and admirall of the countrey of Arabia... (Douglas, I, 19).

Later on in the same tale, Fenton is not content with saying that Anselmo devotedly loved Angelica. He endeavours to probe the state of his heart, motivate his conduct and picture forth in concrete terms the outward manifestations of his feelings :

Or suyvant le fil de nostre histoire, faut sçavoir que pendant que le Salimbene se consumoit peu à peu en l'Amour de son Angelique, sans que elle sceust ni se souciast de ses amours : & encor qu'elle luy rendist humainement son salut quand quelquefois surpris de sa rage il la voyoit en fenestre, ce neantmoins n'eust jamais deviné les pensees de son amant ennemy (Belleforest, 21, fo 60-61).

But nowe to our amarus Salimbino, who, tossed in the stormye sea of his unquiet thoughtes, was no lesse passioned on the behalfe of Angeliqua then she moste carefull to comforte the calamitie of her brother, with indever to lyve together in mutuall tranquillitye, accordyng to the somonce of nature and decree of lawe of kynde; neyther respec-tyng the tormente of her ennemye whiche shee knew not, nor regarding to pranke up herselfe to please th'appetite of any other. And, albeit, it was his chaunce sometime to accoaste her in the strete, or other place, where he forgat not to give her the *Bachilomano*, with al shew and argumente of humble duty; and she, in like

sorte, returned his Italian salutation wyth semelye and not semblable curtesye ; yet sawe he no meanes to remove the dispaire of her good will, nor she hable to discerne the cause of his new and soddaine greting. But, as he suffred himselfe at the first to be subject to the somonce of love, and gave him previledg without resistance to builde his bower in the bottome of his hart ; so, being now to weake to supplant him who hath conquered and made himselfe lord over al the ports in him, he is bounde to beare the yoke of continuall passioun, without licence or liberty to be dispensed from the least assaulte and alaram which that hellishe tormentor ministreth to suche as marche under the enseigne of his awe : neyther hath he other consolation in his present distresse but such as is appointed to fede the desolate mynds of desperat lovers ; moderating in some part the force of their affliction with imagination that the benefyte of time wil, at laste, eyther putte the praye of their desyre into their handes, or els geve ende to their disquiette by som suborned abridgment of their naturall daies (Douglas, I, 28-29).

Fenton's love of concrete detail appears again in his description of the anguish experienced by Angelica when realising that her brother is bent upon forfeiting his life, rather than pay the fine to which he has been sentenced unjustly, so that she may not be deprived of the wherewithal to live :

Estant du tout resolu Charles en son propos de mort, c'estoit grand pitié de voir la belle Angeli- que se dechirer la face, & arracher les cheveux, voyant qu'il estoit impossible d'oster ceste

Which resolution of death was furthwith imparted to the faire Angeliqua ; who, besides whole rivers of teares distilling from her watery eyes with dollorous cryes in dolefull voyce, redoubled with

cruelle deliberatio(n) de la teste de son frere : en quoy elle avoit employé tous ses sens, & le beau parler de tous ceux qui luy attouchoyent de sang (Belleforest, 21, f^o 65).

an eccho of treble dule, entred into a mortall war wythe her garmentes and attyre of her head, neither forbearing to deschevel her crispy lockes and heare exceeding the collar of amber, nor commit cruel execution upon the tender partes of her body. And giving free skope to the humor of her fury, she spared not to imprint with her nayles, uppon the precious complexion of her oriente face, a pityfull remembrance of the tragicall trole of her desolate brother, whome shee coulde not in any way perswade to a chaung or alteracion of purpose, althoughe she employed herselfe and counsell of her frendes to th'uttermoste. (Douglas, I, 37).

Or in his description of Livio's attire when going to his nightly love-tryst with Camilla. The passage has no parallel in the French novel :

But now to our Livio, who, neyther unmindeful of the hower, and lesse forgetfull to kepe appointment, attyareth himselfe for the purpose in a nighte gowne girt to hym, with a paire of shoes of felte, leaste the noyse of his feete shoulde discover his goinge ; and, for a more honor of his mistres, he forgat not his perfumed shyрте, spidered with curious braunches accordinge the fansie of his ladye, with his wrought coiffe poudred with diverse drogues of delicat smell. (Disc. 2, Douglas, I, 124).

Perhaps it is the same love of the concrete and picturesquely significant detail that accounts for the transference to an English atmosphere of Belleforest's comparison of one of his heroes with the robbers who waylay travellers in the Alpine passes :

Homme qui ne faisoit non plus d'estat de mal faire, que celuy qui se tena(n)t sur le mont Cenis, fait mestier de devaliser les pauvres voyageurs, & marcha(n)s (Belleforest, 25, f^o 156).

.....who made no more conscience to be a minister of evill then the out-lawes of Shooters Hil use curtesie in stripping our marchauntes and after send them to London with penyles budgettes. (Disc. 8, Douglas, II, 84).

Yet all the changes introduced by Fenton into the text of Belle-

forest cannot be put to the account of his training in rhetoric. Some are due to his English patriotism. He leaves out of his 10th Discourse a remark of Belleforest's that involved some criticism of the amorous disposition of Henry VIII.

Je di cecy, à cause de plusieurs qui estans yssus de grand & noble lieu, n'ont desdaigné d'aimer des filles de plus basse estoffe, comme feist ce Luchin, & d'autres plus outrez & moins sages les espouse(n)t à leur gra(n)d danger bien souvent : & tousjours presque pour en estre mocquez de tous ceux qui les cognoissent, ainsi que l'on list de ce grand bouc & fier tyran, Henry huictiesme du nom, Roy d'Angleterre, auquel tout terroir estoit bon : & qui ne desdainoit de faire porter le nom de Royne d'une si belle & florissante Isle, à quelque dame que ce fust (Belleforest, 34, f^o 294).

Whereof our age swarmes with examples, whiche I am contente to dismissee for this time, by reason of the superfluitie of the same (Douglas, II, 134).

A comparison of their accounts of the encounter between the Lord of Virle and the English hero, the Lord of Talbot, would even seem to indicate that with Fenton patriotism is of a more umbrageous kind than with Painter :

In this conflycte the Piedmond Knighte combated with the Lorde Talbot, agaynste whome he had so happy successe, as upon the shock and incountre he overthrewe both man and Horse, which caused the discomfiture of the Englishe Men : who after they had horsed agayne their Captain fled amaine, leaving the field bespred with dead Bodyes and bludshed of their Companions (Painter, II, 27, Jacobs, III, 185).

In this skirmish (if a man may credit a French bragge) the Pyemontoyse and Talbot met and unhorsed eche other (Fenton, II, Douglas, II, 201).

This patriotism of Fenton goes hand-in-hand with a strong anticatholic bias. Recording the burning of Joan of Arc at Rouen, as against Painter's simple statement that there : "not long before, that is to say 1430 the Duke of Somerset caused Joane the Pucelle

to be burnt" (II, 27, Jacobs, III, 185), he has a fling at the Roman Catholic superstitions :

Wherein, not long affore, the Duke of Sommerset had burned the counterfait prophet of Fraunce, called La Pucelle Jeane ; whome some pratinge Frenchmen do affirme to have wrought mervails in armes during those warrs ; but chiefly, that under the conduite of her, our countrymen lost Orleance, with diverse other holdes in those partes. And for a memory of that forged ydoll, they kepe yet, amongst other relikes, in the abbay of S. Denys—whych I sawe in may last—a greate roostie sworde ; wherwith they are not ashamed to advowche that shee performed diverse expedicions and victories againste th'Englishe nacion. Whych seames as true as that which they are ashamed to put in a chronicle of credit touching their Saint Denys ; whom they affirme was executed at Parys, and came from thence, with his heade in his hande, which he buyried in the abbaye. Albeit they saye he rested foure tymes by the way, where they have founded iiij crosses, with the headles ymage of Saint Denys holding a stonye skalpe in his hande (II, Douglas, II, 200-01).

Where Belleforest remarks how unfitting it was in Gonsaldo, the Neapolitan abbot, to seek the love of Parolyna, he adds reflections of his own so as to turn the passage into a denunciation of Roman catholic immorality in general that is in full agreement with the tone of contemporary Puritan literature :

Wherein my conscience wolde serve me to use a further discourse, touchyng th'abuses in theis ypocrytes, savyng that (God be prayسد!) our realme is happely purged of suche filth, and replenished with a plentifull crewe of th'undowted and faithfull myristers of Godes worde. Neyther will I troble my historie with the sondry enormities and practises of hell whyche I noted in some religius houses in Fraunce, duryng my being there, because my theame at this tyme is not to treate of th'abuses in their religion ; neyther am I assisted with sufficient time ; for that yf I should but abridge their disorders into a tenthe parte, the volume wold excede the bignes of the bible. Wherefore it shall suffice me to desier God in my praiers to remove the vaille of their darkenes in tyme, leaste their iniquitie procure hym to thonder lyke desolation uppon theym as he dyd uppon the children of Israell, when they forsoke hym, and bowed downe to ymages, whereof their owne handes were the carpenters (6, Douglas, I, 265-66).

Indeed, Fenton so far agrees with the Elizabethan Puritans that, even while translating stories of an Italian origin, he often expresses his dislike of the Italians and their manners. This may have been noted already in his allusion to the "Italian salutation" of Anselmo Salimbene to Angelica, or in his description, founded upon Paulus

Jovius, of the moral temper of the Italian nation. Into the speech addressed to Bianca Maria by the Count of Celant to persuade her to marry him, he introduces in the same way a fling at the Italians to which nothing corresponds in Belleforest. The Count is assuring Bianca that he will not show the same jealous humour as her first husband. With him, he says, she shall not have "to make a seconde proffe of the curtesie of an Ytalian",

who is not so suspicious (he goes on) as cruell, and apte to synister conceites without juste cause, and who can not breake th'instinct whiche nature hath given hym, not only to doubte of the honestie of his wife, be she never so vertuouse, but also to kepe her so shorte with strait imprisonment, that she shall neyther be suffred to visit her frendes abroad, nor admitt any accesse at hoame (7, Douglas, II, 11).

Things being so, it is not surprising that Fenton's moral comments should have a strongly marked protestant flavour, or should not unfrequently invoke the authority of Scripture. Such are his reflections upon the fate of Pandora. He cannot consent to leave her, as Belleforest does, entirely under the sway of Satan :

Le Diable l'avoit si bien saisie
& reduicte en sa puissa(n)ce, que,
voulust-elle ou non, il faillloit
qu'elle parfeit les effects extérieurs
de l'affection, qui interieureme(n)t
dominoit en elle (Belleforest, 9,
fo 78).

For the devill, being seased of
her hart, made her body and
other members the mynisters of
her wil : which God doth often-
tymes suffer, as wel for the due
correction of haynous faults as
also for an example and terror of
all offenders in the like affayres
(3, Douglas, I, 161).

And this is his independent comment upon the sin of covetousness :

Here maye be noted the vertue and operacion of the covetous mynde, infected with the desyer of fylthie gaine, whose frutes are to thurste after other men's goods, and glory in the dekaye of their neighbour, with a dispositioun to converte the ungracious spoyles of their brethren into a pleasaunt pray to their ravening appetite, without regarde notwithstanding to th'express inhibicion of God, in diverse place of the Scripture, or respecte to the dutie of his conscience, or burthen of his soule. Wherin, besides the peynall threatens of our Saviour in the worlde to come, he seames also to hyer a tormentor to molest his quiet during his abode here : for the more he is in devise to encrease his welth, the faster decreaseth his quiet, and himselfe so subject to declinacion, according to the wordes of the Apostle, that a covetous

man taketh more revenge of himselfe beinge on lyve, then his enemy when he is deade (I, Douglas, I, 36).

But perhaps nothing is so striking in this respect as the words through which his heroines announce their resolve of leading honest, chaste lives. We have already mentioned the assurance given to her brother by a widowed lady that she would be able, with the help of the Divine grace, to withstand the allurements of the flesh, and her invocation of the authority of St Augustine against second marriages. Though a maiden, Janiquetta has a quite clear perception of the nature of the evils that may threaten her, and she asserts her virtuous disposition in unequivocal terms, deeply tinged with religion. Both in Belleforest and in Fenton she is busy sewing at home in the company of a girl friend while Luchyn is standing under her window. Her friend notices the intentness of the gaze which the young man is fixing upon her, and at this point Belleforest imagines the following dialogue :

Une de ses compaignes, qui besongnoit à l'esguille avec elle, luy dist : Je pense que ce Gentilhomme te veut toute engloutir par ces regards, & amoureuses œillades. Je ne sçay que c'est, dist Janniquette, mais tous les jours il passe par devant nostre huis, & me saluë aussi privément comme si j'estois de la plus grand maison de Genes. C'est dommage respond l'autre, que tu ne sois de lieu tel que luy, car à ce que je vois il est extrememe(n)t amoureux de ta beauté, & m'asseure qu'il n'est rie(n) en ce mc(n)de, qu'il ne feist pour avoir ton accointance. Ja à Dieu ne plaise dist la chaste fille, que ny sa beauté, grandeur ou richesse change mon cœur, & qu'il se vante ny autre de gagner autre cas sur moy que ce qu'une fille de bien doit ottroyer à l'homme, qui est le salut, lors qu'elle est saluë. Vrayement dist l'autre tu es heureuse, qu'un tel homme te porte amitié, & peu discrete d'en faire si peu de cas : il en y a de plus grandes que toy qui ne seroye(n)t pas si mal aprises. Et ne faut pas tant te glorifier en ta beauté, veu qu'il en y a d'aussi belles en ceste ville, qui esta(n)s si bien aimees, seroyent bien marries de refuser un tel present. Il ne me chaut, repliche la fille aimee, si les plus gra(n)des s'estimeroyent heureuses qu'il les aimast, d'autant que ce seroit bille pareille : mais je ne veux faire si bon marché de mon honneur, que l'opinion d'autrui me le face mettre en vente. Qua(n)t à ma beauté, elle est telle qu'il plaist à Dieu : tant y a, que j'aymeroye mieux estre la plus laide de la terre avec le renom de chasteté, que belle sur toutes les belles, portant le tiltre d'une esventée & fille peu sage. Et qu'avons nous qui nous doive estre plus cher ny precieux que la renommée ? Ignorez vous que la vierge perdant le nom de pucelle est semblable à un fruit trop manié, lequel se noircist, & devient si laid, que puis apres on a horreur de le servir sur les tables : il vaut mieux vivre sans nom, que porter le bruit d'une femme que

tout le monde cognoisse, veu que celle qui est cogneüe de plusieurs, estant de tel calibre que je suis, ne peut faire guere grand'parade de sa chasteté. Ne vous fâchez point contre moy, dist l'autre, car ce que j'en ay dit, n'est pas pour vous inciter à mal faire, ny co(n)seiller à obeir à la volo(n)té de cest ama(n)t, ains pour sentir ce que vous en diriez, & loue gra(n)dement vstre advis. & deliberation, priant Dieu qu'il vous donne la grace de continuer en ce bon vouloir. Ainsi soit il, replicque Janniquitte, & de ma part, selon ma puissance je me gouverneray si bien & sagement, que Luchin n'aura point moyen de me donner de gra(n)des alarmes (Belleforest, 34, f^{os} 295-96).

Instead, Fenton gathers what each girl has to say in two set speeches :

Yf I were borne (so Janiquetta answers her friend) under th'influence of fortune, or bounde to abide the sentence of her doome, I were not unlike to performe th'exspectacion of thy allurementes ; but, seing I am derived of a contrary constellation, moostring alwayes under the ensigne and colloures of vertue, I have my salfe conduite at all times to withstand th'invasion of such infections, with authoritye to defye the malice of any such accident. And touching the commendacions which you seme to give to *mon* Seigneur Luchin, both in the title of honor, estimacion of his publike authoritie in th'affaires of this citey, together with his dexteritie in al giftes incidente to a gentleman, I saye the more plentifully he is considered at the handes of God with a singularitie in suche ornamentes, so much the more ought he to studie to seame worthie of so rare a participacion ; not converting the vertue of his talent given him from above into a sinister entente, and disposicion of wickednes, to seduce the chastetie of simple maides, whose faultes (if any be) he ought rather to reprehende with severitie, then minister corrupcion contrary to the commission of his honor. Neyther shall he at anye time (I hope) prevaile so over my beautye, as the use of the same shall give him other contentement then a frendlye *bon jour* of the mcuth (whiche all honeste maides may do without prejudice) thinking the frendship of nature of no greater moment in givying me the title of faire, then the vertue meritorious in preserving the same (accordyng to the merite) without spott of infamy or worthy reproche of the worlde. For her offence is double afore God" (sayeth she), "and treble skandalous in the mouth of the multitude, that exchaungeth her beautye, being a chiefe signe and argument of grace which God hath painted in the face of woman (as the philosopher saith), for any other price (how greate so ever it appeare) then the honeste pawne and gage of lawfull matrimonye ; accordinge to th'insti-tucion of oure saviour, who, allowing chiefly the oblacion of chastetie, dothe condemne the contrary into perentory destruction. And what have we in this worlde that we ought to make so deare accompte of as our honeste name, being the thing that yeldes us not only an admiration whilst we enjoye the use of lyfe upon earth, but also makes

us live after our death with a perpetuall commendacion of our integritye to the remeinder of our race.

And so on for one full page more, to conclude with the assertion that her honesty is "the only cause that makes me joye in myselfe wyth so great desier to live", and this final assurance :

Because I may the rather performe th'effect of thys last resolucion, I will firste, wyth an unfayned hart, make invocacion to the highest for th'assistance of his grace, to garde me from th'assaltes and peppered provocacions of the fleshe, and then cut of all suche occasions as may eftesones advance the suggestion of the same, or seame any way an ympedimente to the vowe I have presentlye made : whych I doubt not wilbe armes sufficient enough to repulse the alarams of seigneur Luchyn and raise the siege which I see he hath planted agaynst the fortresse of my chastetie. (10, Douglas, II, 138-40).

Two centuries later, it will be in very much the same strain that Richardson's Pamela will speak of her virtue and of her resolve to keep it unspotted, in spite of all threats and dangers, with the help of the Lord. Fenton takes his reader a very great distance indeed away from the atmosphere of Bandello's Italian *novelle*.



CHAPTER III

AFTERMATH: THE INFLUENCE OF THE NOVELS OUT OF BANDELLO UPON ELIZABETHAN FICTION

I — The novels out of Bandello and Elizabethan romantic fiction.

Far from its being the tales out of Bandello that exerted an influence upon Elizabethan romantic fiction, it was the prevailing relish for romance of the England to which they were brought that reacted upon the romantic complexion of these tales in their English form. — Confirmatory evidence supplied by various tales, chief among which is Thomas Lodge's *Forbonius and Prisceria*, in which a happy ending is evolved out of an initial situation recalling that at the beginning of *Romeo and Juliet*. 199

II — The novels out of Bandello and Elizabethan tragic fiction.

The tragical novels out of Bandello are by no means the only or even the main source of Elizabethan tragic fiction. It seems to be in their debt, however, for a certain note of impassioned violence, sometimes associated with moralization and a wish to edify, and always productive of ghastly effects somewhat complacently insisted upon. — Examples of this influence chiefly supplied by Greene's tales of Valdracko and of Moedina, and by Lodge's *A Margarite of America*. 214

III — The novels out of Bandello and the technique of the Elizabethan love-pamphlet.

The Discourse of the adventures passed by Master F.I. has little in common, in point of technique, with the English novels out of Bandello. — This technique enters more largely in Whetstone's *Discourse of Rinaldo and Giletta*. — It is still more accurately imitated in Pettie's *Petite Pallace of pleasure*. — It also characterizes John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis*; the love-intrigues in Lyly's *Euphues*; some of the tales in Barnabe Rich's *Don Simonides*, in Whetstone's *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, in Anthony Munday's *Zelauto* and in William Warner's *Pan his Syrinx*; Austen Saker's *Narbonus*; Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus*; Robert Greene's *Mamillia* and a large number of the works of the same writer; and finally some others chief among whom, again, is Thomas Lodge. — That the technique thus common to many Elizabethan writers of fiction was in point of actual fact brought to England by the translations of novels out of Bandello, and the significance of this development 229

The success enjoyed in England by the translations and adaptations of tales out of Bandello is witnessed to, not only by the outburst of Ascham against the work of Painter and of Fenton, but also by the large number of plays that were founded upon them, and by the fairly numerous allusions to them recorded in the first chapter of the present study¹. It was certainly great enough to make it possible that they should exert some influence upon subsequent English fiction.

By reason of the early date of their work, which appeared at a time when two only of Bandello's tales had as yet been done into English, as well as because they provided between them by far the greater number of such translations, the study of this influence is very largely that of the debt incurred by later English novelists towards Painter and Fenton as translators of tales out of Bandello.

The more so as this influence had to do with the peculiar handling of Bandello's stories by his English translators and adapters, with the way they had of overloading them with wordy, long-winded pieces of sentimental or moralizing rhetoric, characteristic of Painter and of Fenton even more than of their fellow-translators, rather than with the subject-matter of their stories or the optimistic, idealistic spirit that they brought to their treatment of them.

As regards the latter point, it does not seem indeed that the English novels out of Bandello had any part to play in the growth or development of the humoristic, realistic variety of Elizabethan fiction. For very few novels of this description, among the many that Bandello had written, were turned into English. And these few were in the process transformed into rhetorical edifying love-

1. There is also a significant reference to Bandello in these words addressed to Samuel Daniell, in the prefatory matter to his translation of *The Worthy tract of Paulus Jovius, containning a Discourse of... Imprese.....*, 1585, by a certain N. W.: "If Courtiers are inwardly ravished in vewing the Picture of *Fiametta* which *Boccace* limned. If Ladies entertain *Bandel* or *Ariosto* in their *Closets*. If lovers imbrace their Phisition *Ovid* in extremitie of their passion: then will Gentlemen of all tribes, much rather honour your *Impresa*, as a most rare Jewell...".

pamphlets with which the Elizabethan jest-books and related novels have hardly anything in common.

It would seem at first sight that it is quite otherwise with the romantic, sentimental and idealistic tales out of Bandello. For on the one hand they were quite numerous, and on the other the productions of Elizabethan fiction were quite often steeped in an atmosphere very much like theirs. On both sides are to be found the sudden accidents and strokes of fortune, strange entanglements and all-but-miraculous unravellings, wonderful feats of prowess in distant lands, more than ordinary deeds of devotion, faith, constancy and generosity, that endow the happy ending with the aspect of a reward of virtue, and both set before the reader models to admire and provide him with an escape out of the drab realities of everyday life. Yet there may not be enough, in this essential likeness, to warrant the conclusion that Elizabethan romance was indebted for its themes to the kindred tales out of Bandello.

For one thing, these tales did not contribute to romantic literature anything that was really new. Their themes and patterns are little more than the favourite ones of mediaeval romance. There also we meet the lady labouring under an ungrounded accusation and vindicated in the lists by a devoted champion who takes up arms in the defence of her honour¹, or the love born of merely hearing the praise of its object, otherwise unknown to him or her in whose heart a tender passion is thus kindled². And there also, quite commonly, events take such a wonderful turn that the obstacles preventing honest and faithful lovers from enjoying full happiness are finally overcome. Exactly as they do here, for instance, in the stories of the Duchess of Savoy and of Alerane and Adelasia. This latter novel is indeed to all intents and purposes a romance of adventure³. It is true that its hero and heroine, contrary to what usually happens in mediaeval fiction, are not made to wait for their union till the conclusion of the tale. They solemnize their marriage before the lady's maid without asking for

1. In the Arthurian cycle, Queen Ginevra is thus accused and vindicated. See also the "romans" of *Guillaume de Dôle* and of *Joufroï*.

2. The best known example is of course that of Jaufré Rudel, the Prince of Blaye.

3. As to this genre see Gaston Paris, *Le Roman d'Aventure*; Ch. V. Langlois, *La Vie en France au Moyen-Age*; and Myrrha Lot-Borodine, *Le Roman idyllique au Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1913.

the consent of the bride's father, whereas in the mediaeval romances of adventure the authors usually cause the lovers to be early separated by some untoward circumstance, and bring them together again only at the end, when they can celebrate their marriage in a way that does not fly in the face of social conventions. In spite of this, however, we have in the case of Alerane and Adelasia the traditional situation in which the lover's wishes are opposed by the girl's father because the young man, though full of merit, is of an inferior degree to hers. Nor is there any departure from mediaeval tradition in the incidents through which this opposition is overcome after they have been living some twenty years in the woods as charcoal-burners. Though he knows nothing of his parents' real degree, their eldest son shows the nobility of his blood by one day buying a hawk to play with, and upon another occasion a sword. When his father rebukes him, remonstrating that such things are not for people of his low condition, he leaves him and takes service with the Emperor. There he draws the attention of all upon himself by his prowess, till some courtiers notice that he is the very picture of the Emperor as a young man. What if this bachelor with the unknown pedigree were the son of his long lost daughter? Young William is ordered to take the Emperor to his parents. There the father recognises his daughter, forgives her, accepts Alerane as his son-in-law, makes him his heir, and also showers various honours and dignities upon his grandson. From beginning to end this novel is indeed a true mediaeval romance. And so is again tale 41 in Painter's first volume, recording in the case of a "lady falsely accused", whose innocence is proclaimed to the world when the lions to which she had been thrown crouch at her feet and lick her hands instead of tearing her to pieces, a wonderful deliverance that might not unfittingly have found a place in the *Golden Legend*.

The resemblance that we are trying to illustrate goes even deeper. For in both the romantic novels culled from Bandello and in mediaeval romance we find the same moral and ideal atmosphere, and the attitude towards woman is the same. « Dans cette masse de récits amoureux », Gaston Paris writes of the mediaeval romances of adventure, « il est rare qu'on rencontre des scènes ou des peintures qui s'écartent des règles de la décence... D'abord... il s'agit presque toujours de l'amour qui tend au mariage et qui y arrive, et le trait habituel prêté aux jeunes filles qui ins-

pirent cet amour est plutôt — au rebours de ce qui se passe dans les vieilles chansons de geste — une fierté excessive qu'une facilité trop complaisante... Dans des récits plus naïfs et plus anciens, où l'on voit naître et grandir presque inconsciemment l'amour de deux enfants élevés l'un avec l'autre, on ne trouve rien qui ressemble aux scènes hypocritement et savamment libertines de certains romans grecs : Floire et Blanchefleur, Galeran et Frêne, s'aiment innocemment dès l'enfance, et rappelleraient Paul et Virginie plutôt que Daphnis et Chloé ; si l'intimité de Guillaume de Normandie et d'Aélis, de Jean de Dammartin et de Blonde d'Oxford, tout en restant contenue en de certaines limites, est un peu moins innocente, les poètes ne se complaisent pas du moins à nous en décrire par le menu les privautés... Même dans les romans où il s'agit d'amour illégitime, la plume des poètes — sauf en certains passages de *Joufroi*, œuvre aussi très personnelle et à part des autres — est remarquablement réservée »¹. And again, after noting that the writers sometimes intersperse their narrative with digressing reflections in which women are represented as inconstant and unreliable : « Ces réflexions pessimistes ne sont dans nos romans qu'occasionnelles et tout à fait extérieures. Elles ne sortent pas nécessairement du récit ; elles sont au contraire en contradiction avec l'esprit qui l'anime presque toujours... L'histoire qu'ils racontent... est... presque toujours à la gloire des femmes et — ce qui importait encore plus à leurs lectrices — de l'amour. Dans plus d'un de ces romans le type de l'héroïne est même placé à une très grande hauteur et nous présente un idéal accompli des vertus les plus essentielles et les plus précieuses de la femme »².

Bandello himself, to be sure, had not always, or even usually, written in the vein that is here described. But his English translators and adapters remained much closer to the mediaeval spirit than he did. Both he and they liked to dwell upon voluptuous scenes. But they were as a rule so averse from violating the decencies, as he often did, that they refrained from transferring to their pages the touches of libertinism that sometimes sully those of Belleforest, and usually preserved chastity and decorum even while describing the highly wrought feelings or the endearments of their lovers. In so doing they were in agreement, much better

1. *Le Roman d'Aventure*, pp. 772-73.

2. *Le Roman d'Aventure*, p. 771.

than he was, with the temper of the mediaeval romances of adventure. Even though he occasionally drew quite worthy characters, he was upon the whole fairly indifferent to moral issues. They, on the contrary, showed a decided tendency, in keeping with mediaeval tradition, to turn his novels into *exempla*. And they witnessed to the force with them of this same tradition by endowing his grim or humorous novels, usually coarse or cynical, with a much more idealistic complexion. Even Barnabe Rich, at a time when he shows himself less prone than the others to moralizing or indulging in sentimental rhetoric, turns what with Bandello is essentially a *fabliau* into the purely romantic tale of Apolonius and Silla. By taking it from its original middle-class atmosphere and freeing it from its humorous elements, he brings this tale several steps nearer to the spirit of mediaeval romance. It may be that the young lady who, disguised as a page, serves the man she loves and in this capacity carries his messages to another lady, is not of frequent occurrence in mediaeval literature. Still such devotion as hers to the loved person is quite in keeping with mediaeval ideas. And with its *quid-pro-quos*, sudden recognitions and unexpected straightening out of a very tangled coil, this story has in all its versions many elements with which one is familiar in the mediaeval romances of adventure. In its English form, with its hero who suddenly arrives, none knows whence, in the island of Cyprus, is loved by the fair daughter of his princely host, and departs leaving her love-lorn and sorrowful, with its shipwrecks and its sea-dogs with much of the pirate about them, it is even closer to their atmosphere.

Elizabethan fiction could have developed these themes, therefore, without having to borrow them from the tales out of Bandello. The more so as one of the most important things in the history of the Elizabethan novel is the continued popularity with the reading public, and influence upon the writers, of the productions of mediaeval romance. Those of the Arthurian cycle, it is true, were being gradually emptied of their sentimental content, to retain only the deeds of knightly prowess in the interest of a mystical quest, or to load themselves with moral allegory. Yet Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* was still being reprinted in 1557 and 1585 (?). And the novels of adventure underwent no such thorough alteration. They loom large in a list of pernicious books drawn up by Francis Meres in 1598 : he would scarcely have gone to the trouble of

passing condemnation upon them if they had not still at that late date preserved many readers¹. These they found in all classes of society. According to George Puttenham, if he be the author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, they were related "for recreation of the common people at Christmasse diners & brideales, and in tavernes & alehouses, and such other places of base resort"². They formed an important part, not only of the library of Captain Cox, the master-mason portrayed by Robert Laneham in his letter describing the festivities offered by Leicester to Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575, but also of that of Mary Queen of Scots, and we have it upon the authority of Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* that as late as 1620 *Huon of Bordeaux* was among the books most in favour with the lords and ladies of the English court³. The printers indeed never stopped supplying the public with fresh editions of them⁴. And about the time when novels

1. Frances Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, 1598: "As the Lord de la Noue in the sixt Discourse of his *Politike and Military Discourses* censureth of the bookes of *Amadis de Gaul*, which, he saith, are no lesse hurtfull to youth than the workes of Machiavell to age: so these bookes are accordingly to be censured of whose names follow—*Bevis of Hampton*, *Guy of Warwicke*, *Arthur of the Round Table*, *Huon of Burdeaux*, *Oliver of the Castle*, *The Foure Sonnes of Aymon*, *Gargantua*, *Givoleon*, *The Honour of Chivalrie*, *Primaleon of Greece*, *Palermine de Oliva*, *The 7 Champions*, *The Myrror of Knighthood*, *Blanchardine*, *Mervin*, *Howleglasse*, *The Stories of Palladyne and Palmendos*, *The Blacke Knight*, *The Maiden Knight*, *The History of Caelestina*, *The Castle of Fame*, *Gallian of France*, *Ornatius and Artesia*, &c". Quoted from Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 308.

2. Puttenham's authorship of the *Arte of English Poesie* has been disputed by B. M. Ward in *Review of English Studies*, I, 295. Whoever he be, the author alludes to the "small & popular Musickes song by these *Cantabanqui* upon benches and barrells heads, where they have none other audience then boys or countrey fellows that passe by them in the streete, or else by blind harpers or such like taverne minstrels that give a fit of mirth for a groat, & their matters being for the most part stories of old time, as the tale of Sir *Topas*, the reportes of *Bevis of Southampton*, *Guy of Warwicke*, *Adam Bell*, and *Clymme of the Clough*, & such other old Romances or historical rimes, made purposely for recreation of the common people at Christmasse diners & brideales, and in tavernes & alehouses, and such other places of base resort". Quoted from Gregory Smith, *Ibid.*, 87.

3. Cf. Raleigh, *The English Novel*, 17 sqq.; R. Laneham, *A Letter: whearin part of the entertainment unto the Queenz Majesty, at Killingworth Castl, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress 1575 is signified*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, London, New Shakespeare Society, VI, 14, 1890; Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 1624, f^o 122.

4. To deal only with the reprints of the most important of them posterior to 1550: *Bevis of Hampton*, registered to Thomas Marsh in 1558-59; 1565 (?), Wm Copland; 1582 (?), T. East (registered march 12, 1582) — *Blanchardine and Eglantine*, a new paraphrase by T. P. Goodwine entitled *The moste pleasaunt historye*

out of Bandello were being translated into English, the stories that those mediaeval romances related, or others of the same kind, were put upon the stage and received with a favour a record of which has been preserved in the unavailing protests raised by Whetstone and Sir Philip Sidney, about 1580, against the extravagant character of the then current theatrical productions¹.

What makes it definitely impossible to entertain the notion that Elizabethan romantic fiction would not have worn the same aspect even if some romantic novels originally derived from Bandello had not happened to be turned into English, however, is the fact that it covers a far wider range than they do. Let the reader turn, for instance, to Painter's story of the Earl of Angiers (*Palace of Pleasure*, I, 37), to Rich's stories of Fineo and Fiamma, of Sappho, and of Aramanthus (*Farewell to Militarie profession*, 4, 1, and 7), to Greene's *Gwydonius*, or to the same author's relation, in *Perimedes the Blacke-smith*, of the adventures of Marcella and Prystines, with their sons Castrior and Infortunio, and of Alcimedes and Constance. With their great lords who have suffered from adverse circumstances and are through a wonderful course of events restored to their former greatness; their lovers, or husbands and wives, accidentally thrown apart, shipwrecked, taken by pirates, sold as slaves, lost in deserts, exposed to all the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, who nevertheless continue unwavering in their

of *Blanchardine and the faire Eglantine*, 1595, Blackwell — *Sir Degore*, 1550 (?), Wm Copland; 1560, John King — *Sir Eglamour of Artoys*, 1569 (?), Wm Copland; 1570 (?), J. Walley; registered to J. Charlewood january 15, 1582 — *Guy of Warwick*, 1560 (?), Wm Copland; as to this see Crane, *The Vogue of Guy of Warwick from the close of the Middle Ages to the Romantic Revival* — *Huon of Bordeaux*, translated by Lord Berners about 1534, reprinted 1570 — *Oliver of Castile*, registered to T. East march 12, 1582 — *Paris and Vienne*, registered to Thomas Purfoot august 8, 1586 — *Valentine and Orson*, 1565 (?), W. Copland; registered to Thomas Purfoot august 8, 1586. — Our bibliographical information is here mainly derived from Raleigh's and Baker's histories of the English Novel, Pollard and Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue*, and the notice of William Copland in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

1. A play on the subject of *Paris and Vienne*, now lost, was acted at court in the winter of 1571-72. Other plays of the same type that have been preserved are *Common Conditions* and *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*. On this early romantic drama see especially F. H. Ristine, *English Tragi-Comedy; its origin and history*, New York, 1910, and L. M. Ellison, *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court*, Chicago, 1917. The protests of Whetstone and of Sidney are so well known that we refrain from quoting them once more. They can be found most conveniently in Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 59 and 197.

faith and constancy till the time of their happy reunion ; their young men of uncertain or unknown origin who display most admirable qualities in an inferior station and, turning out to be of gentle birth, are thereby enabled to marry in the end the very beautiful princess whose heart they have won by the elegance of their manners, the sprightliness of their wit and the worthiness of their behaviour, the adventures related in all such novels are as a rule more varied, and the wonderful turns of fortune more numerous, sudden and unexpected, than in any of those that were borrowed from Bandello ¹. Side by side with these heroes "tried by fate", moreover, we find in the English novels a whole bevy of heroines who vie with Griselidis in the love, devotion and submission which, in spite of wrongs even greater than hers, they return to their erring and cruel husbands or inconstant lovers ². These heroines have no sisters, either, in the work of Bandello, or at least in that part of it that was translated into English. Nor is there in this portion of his work anything to correspond with the new form that Elizabethan romance was later to assume with Sidney's *Arcadia* and such pastoral novels as Greene's *Pandosto* and Lodge's *Rosalynde*.

For some of their romantic tales, whether acknowledging their debt or not, the Elizabethan novelists went to sundry modern writers beside Bandello, and more particularly to Boccaccio, Cinthio and the Queen of Navarre ³. But more important is the fact that

1. Painter's Earl of Angiers is from *Decameron*, II, 8 ; Rich's Fineo and Fiamma from *Hecatomithi*, II, 6 ; and the two stories in Greene's *Perimedes* from *Decameron*, II, 6 and V, 2. For Rich's Sappho see above, Ch. I. The source of the others is not known.

2. Cf. Rich's Agatha, the virtuous wife of Gonsales (*Farewell to Militarie profession*, 6), William Warner's Alcippe (*Pan his Syrinx*, Calamus septimus), and in Greene's works Mamillia, the heroine of his first novel, who remains constant to Pharicles in spite of his fickleness and finally saves his life and wins him as a husband, and in her train such injured, patient and forgiving wives as Barmenissa (*Penelopes Web*, tale I), Isabella (*Never too Late* and *Francesco's Fortunes*), Theodora ("Gower's tale" in *Vision*) and, finally, in the novel bearing her name, Philomela.

3. In addition to those that have been mentioned already, such are Painter's tales of Mithridanes and Nathan (II, 18, from *Decameron*, X, 3) ; of Thorello and Saladine (II, 20, from *Decameron*, X, 9) ; of Francis I and Count Guillaume (I, 55, from *Heptaméron*, 17) ; and of The Prudent Lady (I, 63, from *Heptaméron*, 37) that are devoted to the relation of examples of generosity, wisdom and discretion ; and that of Rolandine the Chaste (I, 62, from *Heptaméron*, 21), the subject of which is sufficiently clear from its title.

for their most characteristic features, for their favourite subjects and the spirit in which they are handled, as Prof. S. L. Wolff and Lord Ernle have shown between them, the Tudor novels and romances are indebted to the productions of Greek and of Spanish romance¹. This notion is in no way at variance with the continued popularity of mediaeval romance all through the Elizabethan period. For mediaeval romance is closely related both to Greek and to Spanish romance. In a somewhat simplified view of things, it might be said to have passed on to the latter the tradition that it had inherited from the former. Not alone its marvellous loves and strokes of fortune, the separations brought about by pillaging pirates and cruel or treacherous enemies, and the wonderful reunions, but also its ideal conception of love and woman. Among the Greek novels this conception is hardly to be found in *Daphnis and Chloe*, which is rather full of libertinism and a sort of senile pruriency masquerading under the guise of naivety, and in which, as Prof. Wolff has remarked, the reader's interest is evoked, not for the heroine's efforts in order to preserve her chastity unspotted, but rather for clumsy attempts in the contrary direction². But it is characteristic both of the *Aethiopian History* of Heliodorus and of Achilles Tatius' *Loves of Clitophon and Leucippa*. In these also, to be sure, many men and women respond to the driving power of a lust bent upon gratifying itself at any cost. But the hero and heroine at least are models of faith, constancy and chastity, and both these novels fully deserve the praise that the translator of the *Aethiopian History* bestowed upon that which he had turned into English when he called it "the most honest historie of love" and, while admitting that he "might find others better to be commended", recorded his opinion that among books "of like argument", none "commeth neere it"³. Here, as well as in the

1. See essentially S. L. Wolff, *The Greek romances in Elizabethan prose fiction* (in which, however, the debt of Elizabethan fiction to Greek romance is somewhat overstated and made more definite and particular than seems warranted by the actual facts of the case; cf. the review by A. J. Tiede in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1914), and Ernle, *Tudor Novels and Romances* and *The light Reading of our Ancestors*; and accessorially Tiede, *The critical Heritage of Fiction in 1579* and *The theory of characterization in prose fiction prior to 1740*.

2. See Wolff, *The Greek romances in Elizabethan prose fiction*, p. 130. Still it should be noted that practically all that belongs to this libertine and libidinous vein has been eliminated by Angel Day from his English translation of *Daphnis and Chloë*, 1587. Cf. R. Pruvost, *Le Daphnis and Chloe d'Angel Day*.

3. This Thomas Underdowne does in an Epistle "To the Gentle Reader" appearing

English novels out of Bandello and the Elizabethan novels and romances, the lowest and vilest as well as the highest and noblest aspects of love are depicted, but with the emphasis thrown upon the side of the ideal.

This again is characteristic of the Spanish romances, and especially of those of the *Amadis* cycle. It is true that there is much in these romances of chivalry, particularly in their French form, to justify their condemnation by La Noue as being detrimental to the morals of their readers. The tone adopted by their French translator when relating the adventures of youthful cavaliers and fair maidens who are no sticklers for chastity is upon occasion indelicately humorous. Galaor, the brother of Amadis, is a paragon of fickleness and the prince of lady-killers, and the number is very high indeed of the maidens who resign themselves to his will without offering even so much as a show of resistance. Oriana herself bears a son to Amadis long before they are united in holy wedlock¹. Yet both Oriana and Amadis are depicted as models, if not of chastity, at least of faith and constancy. With them, love is pictured forth as an ennobling passion, the source of the highest virtues, and it is because of the heights which it enables them to climb that they are offered to the admiration and imitation of the readers. Here again, if the picture of love is not one-sided and makes ample room for the more realistic aspects of the passion, the weight of the emphasis is thrown upon the side of the more ideal ones. The atmosphere is thus, in this respect at least, very much the same as that of the Greek novels and of mediaeval romance. And if, in his introduction to a recent reprint of Underdowne's translation of the *Aethiopian History*, Prof. Saintsbury wrote that "even the mediaeval prose romance has differences from this kind of novel which ... 'jump to the eyes' of any fairly intelligent reader", he added in the very next sentence: "But it so happened that this romance itself had, when Renaissance came, just taken to itself a form—in the *Amadis* cycle—which was a stage nearer to the Greek romance". Which enables him to explain the popularity of the Greek novels by shrewdly remarking that for their

for the first time, as I am kindly informed by the Secretary of the Bodleian Library, which has a unique copy of it, in the 2nd edition of his translation, 1577. He extols the morality of the *Aethiopian History*, in particular, above that of such books as "Mort Darthure, Arthur of little Britaine, yea, and Amadis of Gaule".

1. As to this, cf. Reynier, *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, 200 ff.

Elizabethan readers "the existing popular tastes and the new convictions that you must go back to the ancients, reconciled themselves as hardly happened in any other case" ¹.

So that it was both natural and easy for those who loved mediaeval romance to welcome the Greek novels and the Spanish romances of chivalry. And this is precisely what happened in England in the sixteenth century. Not only were the Greek novels and Spanish romances translated, but they also provided the models which, with a more or less clear consciousness of the fact, the authors of the Elizabethan romantic novels set out to imitate ².

Things being so, one may well believe that romantic stories from other sources were welcome to them only in so far as they agreed with what was offered to them by mediaeval, Greek or Spanish romance. Romantic novels out of Bandello among others. And

1. *An Aethiopian History of Heliodorus* (Underdowne's Translation, 1587), p. xii.

2. Apollonius of Tyre had never been lost sight of. It was related by Gower in *Confessio Amantis*, translated from the French by Robert Copland in 1510, and again by Lawrence Twine, as *The patterne of painefull Adventures*, in 1576. — Before the full translation of the *Aethiopian History* by Thomas Underdowne, 1569, a fragment had appeared in *The Amorous and Tragical Tales of Plutarch. Whereunto is annexed the History of Cariclis and Theoginis...* translated by Ja. Sanferd, 1567. — The translation of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Angel Day came out in 1587, and that of *Clitophon and Leucippa*, by W. Burton, in 1597. Before this, an edition of *De Clitophontis et Leucippes amoribus libri VIII. Latino facti a L. A. Cruceio*, had been published at Cambridge circa 1589. — As regards Spanish romance, John Bouchier, Lord Berners, turned into English at an early date Diego de San Pedro's *Carcel de Amor* (circa 1540, three more editions according to Baker, *English Novel*, I, 357, between that date and 1604) and, under the title of *Arthur of lytell Brytaine*, a romance with features derived from both the Arthurian and the *Amadis* cycles. — *The Tresurie of Amadis of Fraunce*, a collection of oratorical pieces extracted from the *Amadis* romances, was translated out of French by Thomas Paynell about 1567. — There is in the British Museum a manuscript translation of *Amadis*, which however does not extend further than about the middle of chapter II, dated 1571 (cf. Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, Cambridge University Press, 1920, p. 253, n. 2). — The first published English translations of Spanish romances of Chivalry appeared in 1578, with on the one hand Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra's *Mirroure of princely deedes and knighthood*, translated by Margaret Tyler, and on the other the first part of *Gerileon*, to be followed by only the first and second parts of *Palmerin of England* between that date and 1588, when the first part of *Palmerin d'Oliva* was published in its turn, two years at least before the translation of the first book of *Amadis* (cf. Thomas, *Op. cit.*; Gerald R. Hayes, "Anthony Munday's Romances of Chivalry", *The Library*, IVth Series, VI (1925), 57-81; and Celeste Turner, *Anthony Munday*, University of California Press, 1928). These translations are of somewhat late date, but of course the chivalrous spirit of the *Amadis* romances breathed in Sidney's *Arcadia*.

so it seems that one should say, not that the romantic novels out of Bandello exerted an influence upon subsequent Elizabethan romance, but rather that, if among the Bandellian tales actually translated there were a good many that were romantic, whilst others were so altered as to be brought some degrees nearer to the spirit of romance, this was the outcome of a romantic bias that found an even more significant expression in the eager welcome meted out indiscriminately to the productions of mediaeval, Greek or Spanish romance. So far from its being the tales out of Bandello that exerted an influence upon English romantic fiction, it was rather the prevailing relish for romance of the England to which they were brought that reacted upon the romantic complexion of these tales in their English form.

This reaction is nowhere better exemplified than in the variations upon the theme of Romeo and Juliet that followed upon the translation of the story by Brooke and by Painter.

In its essence, the story of the Veronese lovers is that of the final destruction in tragic circumstances of a young man and a young woman who fall in love with each other contrary to their parents' wishes and in spite of a long-standing feud between their families. But instead of noticing the disaster that finally overcomes them most of the contemporary allusions to them evince admiration for the truth, fervour and constancy of their love¹. From this it is an easy and natural step to wishing that so admirable a passion should breed nothing but happiness for all concerned, and providing the tale with a happy ending. Bandello himself had done so in the 41st novel of his second book. This novel was never translated into English. But that of Charles Montanini and Anselmo Salimbene showed the reconciliation, thanks to the love of a virtuous maiden and a generous-minded young man, of two families long inimical to each other. In Pettie's version of it, also, the story of Admetus and Alcest bears a somewhat similar complexion. For the father of Admetus, Atys, King of Lybia, had long been at war with that of Alcest, Lycabas, King of Assur, when these young people became enamoured of each other. They were secretly married at a "forlorn chapel of Diana", to which they had trudged "through the desert and wayless woods", and from there "they

1. Such as those in Peend's *Hermaphroditus and Salmacis*, John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis and Garden*, and Melbancke's *Philotimus*.

went hand in hand, and heart in heart, wailfully and wilfully, wandering out of their own native country, to avoid their parents' punishment and displeasure" ¹. This indeed struck Atys with a sorrow so deep that he died thereof. But Admetus no sooner heard of his father's demise that "he made the greatest expedition he could into his own country, where he was royally received as prince, and shortly after joyfully crowned King. And being quietly settled in the regal seat, he presently despatched ambassadors to Lycabas, his father's foe, and his father-in-law, whose ambassade contained these two points, the one to entreat a peace for his people, the other to crave a pardon for his wife ; who willingly granted both the one and the other, whereby he now lived in great quiet and tranquillity" ².

The triumph of love over enmity is also shown in "the woorthy Historie of Phrigius and Pieria, reported by Segnior Phyloxenus", in Whetstone's *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, as part of the exercise of the seventh day. Phrigius, the son of the King of Milet, falls in love with Pieria, the daughter of the King of Myos, during a suspension of the hostilities between their two countries. He declares his passion by letter after a resumption of the warfare, sees the offer of his service accepted by the maid, and in the interest of their love is fortunate enough to bring about a truce, that is changed into a lasting peace after the marriage of the royal children ³. But in none perhaps of this group of novels with a happy ending is the initial situation as like that in *Romeo and Juliet* as in Thomas Lodge's *Delectable Historie of Forbonius and Prisceria*.

This was published in 1584. There seems to have been at this time a revival of the interest in the story of the Veronese lovers, of which one may see either the occasion, or a sign, in the entry of Arthur Brooke's poem to Richard Tottell, in the Stationers' Registers, on february 18, 1583. There are various indications that about this period Robert Greene had it very much in his mind. To one of the characters in his *Arbasto*, 1584, he gives the name of Tebaldo. The hero of his *Gwydonius, The Carde of Fancie*,

1. *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, ed. Gollancz, I, 183-85. The story of Admetus and Alcest here bears some similitude to that of Alerane and Adelasia, but the obstacle to their marriage is more like that to the union of *Romeo and Juliet*.

2. *Ibid.*, 189-90.

3. *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, 1582, f^os Y 3 to Z 2.

of the same year, sees his love for Castania threatened by a war between their fathers, the Dukes of Mytilene and of Alexandria. More definitely, in the first of the stories included in the *Planetomachia*, 1585, Rodento is in love with the daughter of his father's ancient and implacable enemy¹. Upon this foundation Greene raises a story of treachery and bloodshed to which we will return. Lodge uses it, on the contrary, to write a tale full of idyllic charm and freshness.

Perhaps these qualities are due to the influence of the Greek romances, for we are told that Prisceria, who lives at Memphis, is the grand-daughter of the heroes of Heliodorus, Theagenes and Chariclea. But she will go through far less extraordinary adventures than her grandparents. Here are neither shipwrecks nor abductions by pirates or robbers, and the identity of all the characters is perfectly well known from the outset. There is, it is true, a wise magician who helps Forbonius win Prisceria. But the presence of magicians is in no way particularly characteristic of the work of the Greek novelists. The only point of contact between this tale and Greek romance is the entirely youthful, chaste and virtuous love of the protagonists, and the idyllic, optimistic atmosphere. This it is which turns a story with an initial situation like that in *Romeo and Juliet* into a tale of a quite different character.

Forbonius is a young cavalier full of prowess and merit. Prisceria is adorned with every grace, physical, intellectual and moral. The Fates have decreed that these two young people are to love each other. But they are kept apart by a feud that has long divided their families. Fortunately the window of Prisceria can be seen from the garden of Forbonius. From there he makes various signs to her. The maid seems to be favourably disposed, and this fills his heart with joy. But he cannot rest content with so little, and he requires the help of the gymnosophist Apollonius. The wise old man strives through a long speech to turn him from his amorous enterprise. Not that he will fail in it. But his success will be achieved only at the cost of the greatest difficulties. Nevertheless, Forbonius is bent upon going forward in his undertaking, and Apollonius presents him with a magic glass that will enable him to impart his thoughts to Prisceria from afar, and from afar to

1. The resemblance to *Romeo and Juliet* has already been pointed out by A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, 2nd ed., London, 1899, I, 388.

read her answers. From the garden to the window, and from the window to the garden, vows are exchanged by this means, and our two young people are happy.

Not for long. Ever since the beginning of her intrigue with Forbonius, Prisceria was so altered as to raise suspicion—no difficult thing to do indeed—in the mind of her father Soldovius, who then made it a practice of secretly going into her room in order to spy upon her and if possible surprise her secret. The night after she had engaged her faith to Forbonius, he heard her utter the young man's name in her dream. Rudely waking her, he asked her what she meant thereby. She did not deny that she loved the son of her father's enemy. Whereupon Soldovius, beside himself with anger, packed her off away from Memphis, to live upon a farm where she was watched upon by rough shepherds who were her only company.

No longer seeing her, Forbonius was greatly distressed, and in his trouble he again repaired to Apollonius. Thanks to his magic science, the gymnosophist revealed to him the present abode of Prisceria. Now chance would have it that Forbonius had a farm not far distant from the place to which she had been relegated. He decided to go there, assume pastoral disguise, insinuate himself into the friendship of her father's head-shepherd, and by this means perhaps gain access to her. In all this he was quite successful : Prisceria's servant was so taken by this new shepherd's gift of song that he himself took him to his melancholy ward, in the hope that by his singing he would be able somewhat to alleviate her sorrow. Before Prisceria, Forbonius sang a long eglogue the hero of which was a shepherd who, long indifferent to the love of a shepherdess, finally took pity upon her and made her happy, and Prisceria was so greatly cheered that the next day they were left alone together. She had not recognised him, but now he discovers himself, and once more they taste happiness.

But once more Soldovius comes upon the scene and shatters their bliss. He has Forbonius thrown into a dark dungeon, and bitterly reproaches his daughter with loving him for whom, if she were dutiful, she should feel nothing but hatred. She answers that love blows where it lists, that it is vain to strive against Fate, and pleads with her father, as he loves her, to forego his hatred and also love him with whose heart-strings her own are entwined. Soldovius leaves her without a word and, repairing to Forbonius

in his prison, threatens him with death. Forbonius proclaims his readiness to die, provided that no harm be done to Prisceria. But he also pleads the necessity of submitting to Fate, and beseeches Soldovius to sacrifice his hatred to his daughter's happiness and, by reconciling their two families, pacify the city of Memphis.

At last Soldovius is moved by their joint entreaties, and nothing remains but to celebrate the nuptials of the young people amid general rejoicings.

If we were writing a history of the Elizabethan novel perhaps this would be the place to notice that here we have one of the very first English pastoral novels. Suffice it to remark that in this tale we find not the violent passions, the indifference to moral issues and the grim tragedy so often characteristic of the Italian *novelle*. The starting point was the same as in Bandello's Romeo and Juliet. But the conclusion is miles apart from the harrowing tragedy of the Italian tale. After all that has been said already, this development seems typical of the fortune of Bandello's novels upon English soil¹.

- II

Still, the same Elizabethans who delighted in writing and reading such romantic, optimistic, idealistic and edifying tales also showed a pronounced taste for sombre, cynical and pessimistic stories of lust, violence and bloodshed. Bandello's English translators and adapters, it is true, commonly infused into his tragical novels sentimental and moralizing features that detracted from their essential and, in their original form, unrelieved grimness and ghastliness. In their hands, nevertheless, the tales still retained much that was violent to the point of brutality. And they *did*

1. It may be interesting to notice also in this place what became in Elizabethan fiction of the motive of Juliet's supposed death, burial, and awakening from her trance. So far as we are aware, no Elizabethan writer ever made an independent use of it. Its only other occurrences in Elizabethan fiction are in the 19th novel of Painter's second volume, dealing with Gentil of Carisendi and the wife of Nicholas Chasennemie, a translation of *Decameron*, X, 4, and in the sixth tale of Barnabe Rich's *Farewell to Militarie profession*, dealing with Gonsales and his virtuous wife Agatha, and founded upon *Hecatommithi*, II, 5. Now both these tales end happily, and the macabre scenes only serve to give greater relish, by way of contrast, to the cheerful conclusion.

look upon him, in spite of the idealizing and softening process to which they submitted these tales of his, as an essentially tragic writer. Painter expressly said so, and Fenton implied as much by his choice of a title for his collection. After them, we see indeed that in the *Farewell to Militarie profession* and in *Don Simonides* Barnabe Rich puts him to purely romantic, humorous, or humorous and edifying, uses¹, and that the various writers who allude to the tales derived from him seem to have been struck by their moralizing possibilities and romantic glamour even more than by their tragical character. But in the fifteen years or so that elapse between the publication of Painter's and Fenton's translations and that of Rich's *Farewell*, all the novels out of the same source translated into English for the first time are tragical ones, viz : that of the harshly reprimanded "Morryon" slave's revenge upon his master's family, and the four stories of R. Smythe. Among those that were translated anew, if Jo. Gobourne tells the story of the Lord of Virle, Barnabe Rich relates that of the Lady of Chabrye, and Thomas Achelley that of Didaco and Violenta. Towards the end of the century, Thomas Beard still summed up the story of the Duchess of Malfi in order to strike terror into the hearts of prospective sinners, and that of Mahomet and Hyerene was added to a collection of tales from the *Heptaméron*. From his first introduction into England down to the close of the century, Bandello was consistently resorted to for tragical tales. It is quite in order in these circumstances to inquire whether some trace of their influence may not be shown by the many stories of lust and revenge, of treacherousness and implacability, of murderous, butchering frenzy, of coolly planned and deliberately executed macabre and refined cruelty, as well as by those in which the tender plant of youthful happiness and innocence is blasted by the untowardness of a hard fate, that followed upon or were contemporary with the publication of the tragical stories out of Bandello. Here again, of course, primary importance would belong to Fenton's *Discourses* and Painter's tragical novels out of Bandello.

No more than in the case of the romantic novels, however, he who would accurately define this influence, if such there be, must lose sight of the fact that the Elizabethans were by no means

1. Respectively in the stories of Apolonius and Sylla, of Phylotus and Emilia, and of Lamia.

dependent upon Bandello alone for the gratification of their taste for tragedy. Innocent lovers as unfortunate as Romeo and Juliet, Livio and Camilla and Perillo and Carmosyna, or chaste ladies who, like Micca and Julia, preferred death to dishonour, they derived both from the stores of classical legend or from such modern writers, again, as Boccaccio and the Queen of Navarre¹. The general stormy and ghastly atmosphere usually characteristic of the tragical tales out of Bandello they found duplicated in the frenzy of Seneca's Hercules or the butchering rage of his Medea, or in such tales of raging lust in both men and women, whether coupled or not with physical horrors, as had been related by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* and by Heliodorus in his *Aethiopian History*. In these they could read how Scilla betrayed her father out of love for his besieger Minos; how Canace and Byblis succumbed to incestuous passions; how Progne gave her husband Tereus the mangled remains of their little son to eat as a revenge upon him for committing brutal rape upon his sister-in-law Philomela and cutting her tongue off so that his crime might remain untold. Or, again, how the stepmother of Cnemon contrived a plot to ruin him in his father's opinion because he turned a deaf ear to her advances, and how Queen Arsace endeavoured to coax and bully Theagenes into her bed with an impassioned determination and fury by the side of which his Lady's attempts upon the virtue of Joseph Andrews will look like mere child-play². Now Seneca, Ovid and Heliodorus were all great favourites with the Elizabethans. All three were accessible to them in translations and frequently imitated³. It is true that it was chiefly the dramatists who

1. As for the first cf., besides Pyramus and Thisbe, Painter's story of a "Gentleman that died of love", I, 60, from *Heptaméron*, 8, and in the *Tragical Tales* of George Turberville the stories of Symona and Pasquine and of Girolamo and Salvestra, nos 9 and 10, respectively from *Decameron*, IV, 7 and 8; for the second cf. the stories of Lucrece, the victim of Tarquin, and of Virginia, the victim of Appius, Painter, I, 2 and 5 and Pettie, 5, both from Livy, and that of the chaste wife of one of the Queen of Navarre's muleteers, Painter, I, 50, from *Heptaméron*, 2.

2. Cf. *Metamorphoses*, VIII, III, IX and IV, and *Aethiopian History*, Bks I and VIII. It may be noted also that in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, III, 1885-2195, Orestes, after slaying his adulterous, murderous mother, tears away her breasts with his own hands and throws her body to the dogs to be devoured, while his sister Egrona, the daughter of Egistus and Clytemnestra, hangs herself out of despite at his acquittal.

3. The Elizabethan translations of Heliodorus have already been mentioned. Of Seneca's plays, *Troas* had been translated in 1559, *Thyestes* in 1560, *Hercules Furens* in 1561, *Œdipus* in 1563, *Agamemnon*, *Medea* and *Octavia* in 1566,

derived their inspiration from Seneca. But the drama and the novel so often drew upon the same fund that no hard and fast line can be drawn between them¹. And however this may be it seems quite probable that Sidney's Queen Gynecia owed something to the Arsace of Heliodorus, while Pettie did relate afresh, in his *Petite Pallace of Pleasure*, Ovid's tales of Tereus and Progne (nov. 2) and of Scilla and Minos (nov. 7).

Nor were these the only available sources of tragical tales of this complexion. The Elizabethans never stopped reading the lives of the saints, and they also abound in physical horrors. Because of the edifying ends that they were made to subserve perhaps these were, however, on too different a plane really to have exerted a strong influence. But Painter (II, 6) borrowed from Livy his account of the numerous crimes to which the wife of Tarquin was driven by her inordinate ambition ; several of the lovers whose stories he translated from the *Heptaméron* attempt to do violence to the ladies whose beauty has inflamed them² ; he is indebted to Boccaccio for at least one of his lust-driven heroines³ ; while both he and George Turberville go to the same writer, and in Painter's case to the Queen of Navarre also, for several stories of passionately or dispassionately executed ghastly and macabre revenge⁴.

before the ten tragedies appeared together, in English verse, in 1581. For the translations of Ovid see our Bibliography

1. For the fullest account of the influence of Seneca at the time of the Renaissance cf. the introductory essay to vol. I of *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander*, ed. by L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton, Edinburgh and London, 1921.

2. Thus the lovers of Florinda, of a Princess of Flanders and of a Gentlewoman of Pampelunae, *Palace of Pleasure*, I, 53, 52, and 56, respectively from *Heptaméron*, 10, 4, and 26.

3. The Lady of the French court who proffers a false charge against the Earl of Angiers and has him sentenced to exile for no other reason than his rejecting her brazenly offered love ; Painter, I, 7, from *Decameron*, II, 8.

4. Cf., in Turberville's *Tragical Tales*, the story of a husband who, having slain his wife's lover, gives her his heart to eat (nº 4, from *Decameron*, IV, 9), and the tale since made famous by Keats in *Isabella* (nº 7, from *Decameron*, IV, 5) ; in Painter the story of Tancred, who presents his daughter Gismonda with the heart of her lover Guiscard, whom he has caused to be assassinated (I, 39, from *Decameron*, IV, 1, also translated by William Walter), and that of the adulterous lady sentenced by her husband to spend the rest of her days, arrayed all in black and with her hair close cropped, behind a hanging where nobody ever speaks to her and she has no other company than the bones of her murdered lover, preserved in a chest, and no other cup to drink from than his skull (I, 57, from *Heptaméron*, 32, also related by Whetstone in the *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, 3rd day).

All these tales, derived from other writers than Bandello, are like those that were borrowed from him not only in that their heroes are similarly wicked, impassioned and cruel, but also in showing the same curious mingling together of the tragic and the romantic. It would seem indeed that the more than ordinary deeds of wickedness and cruelty were often welcome to the Elizabethans as a means of raising wonder on a par with the examples of virtue out of the common and the extraordinary turns and somersaults of the wheel of Fortune. The union of all three themes is exemplified in some of the novels out of Bandello, such as the story of the Duchess of Savoy. But it is also characteristic, again, of tales derived from other sources, the most striking among which in Elizabethan fiction is perhaps that of Fineo and Fiamma, borrowed by Barnabe Rich from the *Hecatommithi* of Cinthio¹.

With Bandello, also, a not unfrequent way of making strange deeds of violence more striking was to present them in unison with more than ordinary guile, deceitfulness and treacherousness. A good example of this is afforded by the traitor Pancalier who, after the Duchess of Savoy had refused to enter into an unlawful intrigue with him, contrived a plot to make it appear that she was guilty of an adulterous intercourse with his nephew, and sought the better to colour his unfounded charge by suddenly running his sword through the unfortunate youth. One may see in him a typical instance of a Machiavellian villain. Now Mr Mario Praz has shown that this stock-figure of many an Elizabethan play and novel, a caricature of the genuine Machiavellian strong man, was made up of many elements borrowed from Seneca². Apart from this, the Elizabethan novelists were by no means dependent upon Bandello alone for their Machiavellian villains. An outstanding example of one is found in the relation by Whetstone, in the fourth day's exercise of his *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, of "The rare Historie of Promos and Cassandra", which he had dramatized a few years before, and which provided Shakespeare with the subject of *Measure for Measure*. This novel was originally derived from

1. See above, p. 206, n. 1. A tale of the same general nature, again, is that of Constance, related by Chaucer's Man of Law and by Gower in *Confessio Amantis*, II, 587-1598.

2. Mario Praz, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethans*.

Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* (VIII, 8) ¹. And Painter was indebted to the same writer for the Machiavellian hero of his novel of Euphimia and Acharisto ². Here again things seem to point out to the conclusion that it might be artificial to dissociate the influence of Bandello from that of other writers.

Better still, it would seem that some of the Elizabethan tragic novels can hardly owe anything to him. We mean those in which women resort in the interest of a noble cause to the same weapons as the men employ in the pursuit of their schemes of lust and ambition, and show themselves, though for a worthy end, no less crafty and determined to strike a hard, fatal blow. Such are both Aretafila and Camma, the heroines respectively of tale n° 2 in Turberville's *Tragical Tales* and of the 1st novel in Pettie's *Petite Pallace of Pleasure*. They have this in common that the rulers of their countries fall in love with them and, when for all their wooing they cannot win them away from their conjugal duties, remove what they look upon as the chief obstacle to the realization of their desires by having their husbands assassinated. But Aretafila shines rather as a champion of liberty than as an example of wifely devotion. For she agrees to become the wife of Nicocrates, and if she later arranges a marriage between her daughter and his brother Leander the better to persuade him to overthrow the tyrant, this essentially arises from her disapproval of the harshness and cruelty of the latter's rule ³. Camma on the contrary only shows herself willing to marry Sinorix so as to have him where she can punish him for his crime. At the wedding-feast, under pretence of sealing their union, she both avenges her husband's death and sacrifices herself to his memory and to the sanctity of marriage

1. See the article by F. E. Budd in *Review of English Studies*, June 1930, for a discussion of an accessory French source, the *Philanira* of Claude Rouillet.

2. Painter, II, 15, from *Hecatommithi*, VIII, 10. Because he would not consent to his marrying her, Acharisto leads a rising against Euphimia's father, the King of Corinth. He is thrown into jail, makes his escape with Euphimia's help, has a price set upon his head, and finally is victorious, marries the deposed King's daughter, and mounts upon the throne. Then his love for his wife is for no apparent reason turned to deadly hate, and he has her sentenced to death, thanks to suborned witnesses, upon a trumped up charge of adultery. At this point however he is cut short in his wicked progress. Euphimia is saved by a former disdained suitor, Philon, who marries her and becomes king after Acharisto has paid for his treachery with his life.

3. Later still, when finding that Leander is no less tyrannical than Nicocrates, she causes him to be murdered in his turn.

vows by inviting the lustful, treacherous governor to partake with her of a cup that she has filled with a poisoned beverage. The praise of these two heroines had originally been sung by Plutarch in the chapter of his *Moralia* more particularly devoted to extolling the virtues of women, and their stories had been related in England, Aretafila's once at least before Turberville included it in his *Tragical Tales*, and Camma's several times before Pettie took it up again and modernised it by changing the virtuous Greek matron into a native of the Italian city of Sienna¹. The latter's deed is exactly duplicated by Castibula, the mother of the chief character in Brian Melbancke's romance of *Philotimus*, 1583, and more than one heroine of Elizabethan fiction shows in similar circumstances the like high resolve, resourcefulness and devotion to duty. She has several sisters in Sidney's *Arcadia*. But perhaps none is so much like her as Cimbriana, the heroine of the second tale in Robert Greene's *Euphues his Censure to Philautus*, 1587, the precise source of which has not been discovered. A great princess, she is defeated by a neighbouring sovereign who wages war upon her because she has rejected his offer of marriage. She then pretends to be reconciled to his wishes, and at the wedding feast she causes him to be poisoned, with many of his lieutenants, as they are drinking the health of the Ladies.

Tales such as this one do not seem to owe anything to the English novels out of Bandello, among which there are none exactly corresponding with them. As regards the Elizabethan tragical tales possessing features and incidents in common with those that were derived from the Italian *novelliere*, moreover, the fact that their tragic themes are also duplicated in tales, both ancient and modern, derived from other writers, makes it difficult to assign their composition to his influence or to that of his English translators and adapters. And yet, while the romantic novels out of Bandello are little more than a mere drop in the ocean of Elizabethan romance,

1. The story of Aretafila is Ch. 11 in part IV of Thomas Fortescue's *The Foreste*, 1571. For the history of this tale in England, and the precise source from which Turberville derived his version, cf. R. Pruvost, *The source of George Turberville's Tragical Tales* nos 2, 5, and 8. Before its inclusion in Pettie's *Petite Pallace*, the story of Camma could be read in English in Berners' translation of Guevara's *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*, 1535, in North's translation of the same author's *Libro de Emperador Marco Aurelio cō Relox de Principes*, 1557, and in Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, 1561. Cf. Koepfel, *Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle*, 25, and Bush, *The Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*.

the tragical novels borrowed from him seem to be possessed of a far greater importance in proportion to the whole body of Elizabethan tragic fiction. Instead of a mere drop in an ocean, they rather look like one of the main contributory streams to its turbid waters. Besides, a certain note of impassioned violence, sometimes associated with moralization and a wish to edify, and always productive of ghastly effects somewhat complacently insisted upon, seems to be more characteristic of the English tragic novels out of Bandello than of those derived from other sources. It seems that we should ascribe to Bandello's influence the composition of the original Elizabethan tragical tales in which the same features are present together.

Though in such a matter as this it would not be safe to dogmatize. In Greene's *Arbasto*, for instance, Myrania has been smitten with the love of the King of Denmark, who gives his name to the book, while he was besieging her father Pelorus, the King of France, in his town of Orleans. Disregarding the fact that he came to him under the protection of a flag of truce, Pelorus has his enemy seized upon and thrown into a deep dungeon. Myrania thinks of gaining his love by freeing him and escaping in his company. Summoning him to her room, she causes a trap suddenly to open under the feet of Arbasto's jailer, rifles his dead body of the keys of the prison, and in the silence of the night goes and sets the captive free after obtaining from him a promise of marriage. In such a deed of treachery, of resolution, of love that stops at nothing in order to gain its ends, there is something that is reminiscent of the atmosphere of Bandello's novels. But Myrania's attitude and actions remind us also of those of Medea when going to the help of Jason, of Ovid's Scilla when offering her love to her father's besieger, and of the Saracen princess who helps Huon of Bordeaux to regain his freedom in somewhat similar circumstances¹. The treachery, the implacability, the sudden thrust are to be found, moreover, in many an Italian novelist known to the Elizabethans besides Bandello. In spite of its general likeness with some of those in the tragical novels out of Bandello, this incident in Greene's narrative cannot be put definitely to the account of their influence.

1. Cf. S. L. Wolff, *The Greek romances in Elizabethan prose fiction*, p. 368, and *Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 353 and 359; and our analysis of *Arbasto* in *Robert Greene et ses romans*.

Nor can the tale, entitled *Saturn's Tragedy*, which in Greene's *Planetomachia* Saturn is supposed to relate in order to exemplify the baneful influence of Venus. In this tale, Greene borrows from ancient history the fact that a King of Egypt, Psammetichus, became in his old age so infatuated with the beauty of Rhodopis that he raised her from a low courtesan to be the Queen of Egypt, and upon this stock he grafts a domestic tragedy in the usual manner of the Italian novel. Rhodopis was much younger than Psammetichus, and she soon finds a lover more agreeable to her years in the King's son Philarkes, upon whom she showers all the necessary encouragements. They commit adultery together during an absence of the King. Returning sooner than he was expected, he finds the two culprits in each other's arms, punishes them with instant death, and himself swallows a cup of poison. This type of story is so widely spread in Renaissance tragic fiction that Greene's tale cannot be said to have been inspired by any one writer in particular.

It is perhaps otherwise with the two other tales included in the same work of Greene's. One of them, introduced under the title of *Jupiter's Tragedy*, is supposed to be related by the King of the Gods¹. Entering a solitary castle in Scythia about the time of his having received the hospitality of Philemon and Baucis, he had been struck with amazement at the strange doings of its lady. Surrounded by six of her maids, she was burning incense and holding in her hand a man's heart, which she violently stabbed through with a long needle. She only desisted to order wine, which she drank out of two skulls, and to sing a doleful ditty to the accompaniment of the lute. It is small wonder indeed that the curiosity of the Master of Olympus himself should have been tickled by such uncommon behaviour, and that he should have questioned the lady as to the meaning of it. She answered with a relation of the story of Charaxes, the King of Lybia. Charaxes had both sought the love of Lyndana, the royal princess of Scythia, and attempted the conquest of her country. In both enterprises he had been unsuccessful: Lyndana had curtly rejected his suit, and her father Evandrus had taken him prisoner. Thirsting for revenge,

1. This tale has been omitted by Grosart from his reprint of the works of Robert Greene. It is not to be found in all the original copies of the *Planetomachia*, but the two Bodleian copies have it. Cf., again, our *Robert Greene et ses romans*.

he murdered Evandrus during a boar-hunt to which, though a captive, he had been courteously invited, and made his escape into Lybia. Lyndana's brother Frestynus succeeded his father upon the throne. But his twin brother Romphanus disputed his claim to it and led a revolt against him. Frestynus gained a victory over Romphanus, who was killed in the fight, with the help of Charaxes. But Charaxes turned against his ally, had him decapitated, and sending to Lyndana the heads of her two brothers threatened her with war unless she agreed to become his concubine. She resolutely took up the challenge, and once more Charaxes was defeated. This time he was put to death after having been made to suffer the most horrible torture. Lyndana ordered his still palpitating heart to be brought to her, and every evening since she had satisfied her hatred of Charaxes by transfixing it with a needle, and sacrificed to her love of her brothers by drinking wine out of their skulls. For it was Lyndana herself that Jupiter had before him¹.

There are in this novel many warlike complications such as one does not read of in Bandello's novels. Nor is it necessary to suppose that Greene was indebted to these novels for his portrait of Charaxes, even though he would seem to answer to the Elizabethan conception of the Italian disciple of Machiavel. But, in the daily ceremony devised by Lyndana in order to show the strength and faithfulness of both her love of her brothers and her detestation of him who caused their death, there is a touch of united violence and ghastliness which to our mind, before the date of Greene's *Planetomachia*, is nowhere so well represented in England as in the tragic novels out of Bandello. There is at least a possibility that Greene's Jupiter might have read Painter and Fenton.

There is no doubt that his Venus, who earlier in the same volume relates a story destined to show the evil worked among men by the influence of Saturn, had read the story of Romeo and Juliet. As we have already remarked, the initial situation in this "Venus' Tragedy" reminds the reader of that in Romeo and Juliet. The tragical conclusion, however, is not brought about by the untowardness of Fate, but by the wickedness of men. But here also are

1. Haslewood was of opinion that this tale of Greene's bore some relation to Painter I, 57 (from *Heptaméron*, 32), and to Bandello, III, 18. Apart from the drinking out of a skull, however, the three tales have nothing in common. See above, p. 32, n. 1.

deeds of quite Bandellian violence and cruelty. The subject of the story is the unfortunate love of Rodento, the son of Coelio, for Pasylla, the daughter of his father's ancient and irreconcilable enemy Valdracko. Before pledging their faith to each other, the young people go through many soliloquies, and with the help of an old go-between exchange letters, according to the fashion common with the heroes of Painter's and Fenton's novels out of Bandello. Valdracko was a saturnine old man who kept a narrow watch upon his daughter. Of course he finds Rodento's letters. With fiendish dissimulation, he approaches Coelio with an offer of his friendship and a proposal to unite their children in token of their reconciliation. Coelio accepts with alacrity. But Valdracko spoke thus fair to him only the better to put him off his guard. Before the wedding, he causes him to be assassinated by a hired murderer. After it, he has Rodento poisoned by his cup-bearer. Remorse compels the latter, however, to reveal the truth to Pasylla. Surprising Valdracko in his sleep, she ties him to his bed with her garters, wakes him, tells him that she is informed of his crimes and how much she detests him, stabs him dead, and after writing down by way of self-justification an account of her father's deeds does away with herself. A grim, sombre story indeed. Some incidents further add to its general ghastliness. Valdracko's cup-bearer swallows a cup of poison after confessing his crime to Pasylla. Better still, when the swashbuckler who had assassinated Coelio is seized upon by the mob and taken before him, Valdracko, who held the office of a magistrate in the city, orders his tongue to be cut out of his mouth, so that he cannot reveal the truth, before sentencing him to death.

This tale undoubtedly shows that Greene had derived some benefit from his perusal of the tragical novels out of Bandello¹. One more of his tales included in *Euphues his Censure to Philautus*, namely tale n^o 1, related by Ulysses, points to the same conclusion. Its heroine, Moedina, was the wife of the prince of Ithaca, Polymnestor. Desire being kindled in her veins by the good looks and fine figure of a gentleman in her husband's court, Vortymis, she brazenly made an offer of her person to him and, though he besought her to reflect upon the dangers of an illicit intercourse, bullied him

1. In *Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance*, p. 354, S. L. Wolff has some very pertinent remarks upon the Bandellian atmosphere of this tale.

into compliance by threatening to compass his ruin if he denied her request. Some time later, she secretly fled with him to Samos. When after a long search he had discovered where she was hiding, Polymnestor sent a messenger to her with an offer of forgiveness if she would repent and come back to him. At Samos the messenger learns that Moedina, having tired of Vortymis, had poisoned him and taken up with another lover. When he comes into her presence with her husband's message, she threatens him with death unless he will depart at once, and away he goes with sadness in his heart. Before reembarking, however, he is joined by a servant of Moedina who informs him that, awakened by her husband's generosity to a sense of the horror of her conduct, and stricken with remorse, she has violently cut the thread of her life.

Here is a lady whose character and career resemble those of the Countess of Celant. Like that bloodthirsty strumpet in the pages of Painter and of Fenton, she is held up by Greene to execration and detestation. Together with those that we have analysed before it, her story makes it possible to form an idea of the nature of Bandello's influence upon Elizabethan tragic fiction. In the tragical novels out of Bandello and in those that were imitated from them, the tales of feminine lust are couched in a moralizing tone, and the wicked heroines are made to undergo at the end of their career a heartfelt repentance. It also happens that the violent deeds of both men and women are perpetrated in the interest of morality and assume the guise of the chastisement of some grievous sin. Or at other times, contrarywise, the immoral actions of men are treated in a spirit of greater detachment, as if they were felt to be interesting in proportion as they transcend the ordinary. Whatever the moral attitude of the writer towards the deeds that he records, however, they have this in common that they are the outcome of a passionate disposition, even though it may be disguised under a mask of assumed calmness, the outward manifestation of a sort of *virtù*. This, together with the violence and ghastliness, seems to constitute the properly Bandellian touch.

Because the crimes related by Thomas Lodge in *A Margarite of America*, 1596, are possessed of the same quality, we are inclined to assign the tragical part of this long-drawn-out tale also to the influence of Bandello. Even though there is in it a greater accumulation of crimes than in any one of his novels, and although the furious madness with which the hero is stricken at the end is

due to magic influences that neither he nor his translators thought it necessary to invoke. The chief character is expressly depicted as a type of a Machiavellian villain, whose career is filled with deeds of treachery and violence. Arsadachus by name, he was the son of Artosogon, the Emperour of Cosco. His father had concluded an agreement with one of his neighbours, Protomachus, the King of Mosco, according to which he was to marry the latter's gentle, beautiful and virtuous daughter, Margarita. Preparatory to this union, he stays at the court of Protomachus, woos Margarita and wins her love. But at the same time he pays his addresses to her friend Philenia, even while knowing that she is betrothed to a worthy prince named Minecius. Of course Philenia refuses to listen to him. But since she will not be his he is resolved that she shall be no other's, and on the evening of their wedding, as Philenia and Minecius were travelling to the latter's castle, he lays an ambush for them in a wood and slays them both. He succeeds in returning to the King's palace before his absence has been noticed. The better to turn suspicion away from himself, he accuses the only partaker of his secret of designs against the life of Protomachus and, when he is summoned before the King, runs him through with his sword even before he has had time to open his mouth in his defence. Indeed, he has nothing to fear from this quarter. When Philenia's page, who has succeeded in escaping with his life on the night of the ambush, comes and charges him with the murder of his mistress, Protomachus sentences the faithful servant to have his eyes put out and his tongue cut off, and makes amends to Arsadachus by showering kindly attentions upon him. Still Arsadachus is bent upon not marrying his host's daughter, and he soon finds a pretext for returning to his native country. Before going, he vows life-long faithfulness to Margarita and promises her a speedy return. Soon after, however, he secretly takes to wife Diana, the daughter of one of the noblemen in his father's court, Argias the Duke of Moravia. At the news of this Artosogon flies into a passion. The culprits are for the nonce out of his reach, but at least he has Argias drawn and quartered, and sends his mangled remains to Diana as a wedding-present. Now Arsadachus appears at his father's court. He brutally pulls him down from his throne and, because he rails against him, tears his tongue out of his mouth and cuts off his right hand. Artosogon dies of his wounds, and through grief at his end his wife follows

him into the grave. Arsadachus succeeds him upon the throne and celebrates his wedding with Diana. But this, which he thought to be the hour of his triumph, was to be that of his ruin. At the time of his leaving her Margarita had presented him with a magic box which she fancied would keep him faithful to her. During the wedding-feast he has it brought to him, remarking that Margarita well deserved that at such a juncture he should bestow a thought upon her. Now this box was, as soon as opened, to make firmer still the faith of him who opened it if he was constant, and if he was not to strike him with madness. Arsadachus no sooner lifts the lid than flames, stifling smoke, and a nauseating stench issue out, and he grows as furious as the most furious heroes in the English novels out of *Bandello*. He strikes open the skull of one of his guests with a cup out of which he had been drinking the health of Philenia ; he kills Diana and tears her heart out of her chest with his teeth ; he smashes against the wall the head of a little boy that he had begotten upon her. Margarita arrives upon the spot at this juncture. Unable to bear his prolonged absence, she had set out in order to be near him. She rushes to him with outstretched arms and loving words upon her lips : he runs her through with his sword. Then, awakening to a consciousness of the crimes he has committed, he puts his own eyes out, and stabs himself with his dagger upon the still panting body of the unfortunate lady.

Sundry other tragical stories appeared in England about the time when Lodge's *A Margarite of America* was published. His *Famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed for his monstrous birth and behaviour, Robin the Divell* had been brought out, a few years before, in 1591. The hero was from the very beginning a sort of monster who, born with all his teeth, gave early earnest of his future misdeeds, among which there is violent rape committed upon a nun, by biting off the tip of his nurse's breast and the nose of a noble lady who bent over his cot in order to welcome him into the world with a kiss. His youthful feats—for he becomes later quite a different sort of character—are paralleled by those of the dirty, gouty, rheumy and coughing old man who, having been unable to obtain the love of the heroine in Nicholas Breton's *Miseries of Mavillia* (earliest known edition 1596), comes to her house in the company of two swashbucklers and gives her the choice of losing her recently espoused husband

or her nose : as she begs him rather to kill her outright he shams reconciliation, invites her to his side for a parting kiss, and as she draws near tears her nose off at one bite. But perhaps the most gruesome incidents afforded by English fiction in those few years are to be found in the last pages of Thomas Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller*, 1594. The harrowing crimes of house-breaking, pillaging, rape and murder committed by Esdras and Bartolo, in a Rome infested by the plague and reeking with the smell of dead bodies, under the eyes of Jack Wilton, whom they have tied hand and foot after taking his mistress away by main force, are so well known that nothing more is necessary here than a few words to recall them. As also the final scene, in which Bartolo's brother Cutwolfe avenges his death upon Esdras by infuriating him with his bitter taunts till he breaks into blasphemy, and stabs him before he has time to repent, thus making sure that his soul shall be committed to everlasting fire.

It would be tempting to assign these tales also, as well as those of Greene and Lodge that we have been analysing above, to the influence of the tragical novels out of Bandello. But Nashe's common villains Esdras and Bartolo seem of too low a type to be placed side by side with the *virtuosi* of the Bishop of Agen and of his English translators. Such gratuitous deeds of violence as those of Lodge's Robert the Devil and of the sordid old lover of Breton's Mavillia cannot be put, either, to the account of *virtù*. The atmosphere is no longer the same. Nor is it when vengeance is coupled with such devilish refinement as that of Nashe's Cutwolfe. One seems to detect in all this a sort of straining of the Bandellian note, of which there may be another sign in the greater accumulation of horrors of Lodge's *A Margarite of America*. This may simply be due to the lapse of years. But the fact must not be forgotten, either, that about the same time tragedy was assuming the same characteristics in the dramas that followed upon the orgies of bloodshed, treachery, maddening anguish and furious revenge in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and the ranting, bombasting, ostentatious *outrances* in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*. English tragical literature had become too rich and varied for its further productions to be assigned solely, or even mainly, to the influence of the novels out of Bandello.

III

The production of a few tragical tales is far from marking, however, the limit of the influence exerted by these translations upon Elizabethan fiction. Whether humorous, tragical or romantic, the novels out of Bandello have this in common that at every turn their heroes indulge in soliloquies, launch forth into speeches, and write letters as eloquent and passionate as they are learned, ingenious and subtle. Whenever they are wrought up to a sufficient pitch of emotion, they even break forth into verse utterances marked by the same characteristics. And throughout the narrator indulges, by way of comment upon the events that he is relating and the emotions he is describing, in incessant moralizings. All this in such plentiful abundance that the proportion between speech-making, letter-writing and lay predication on the one hand, and actual tale-telling on the other, is overwhelmingly in favour of the former, and the intrigue most often looks like nothing more than a peg upon which to hang the sentimental or moralizing rhetoric. Now it is at least a curious fact that an examination of the progress of Elizabethan fiction from the time when Painter and Fenton brought out their translations of novels out of Bandello shows the gradual adoption of a similar technique by one writer after another.

The first original novel to have been published after the appearance of Painter's and of Fenton's translations was the *Discourse of the adventures passed by Master F. I.* It first appeared in 1572 in a miscellany of both prose and verse the composite character of which is fully indicated by its title : *A Hundreth sundrie Floweres bounde up in one small Poesie Gathered partely (by translation) in the fyne outlandish Gardins of Euripides, Ovid, Petrarke, Ariosto, and others : and partly by invention, out of our owne fruitefull Orchardes in Englande : Yelding sundrie sweete savours of Tragical, Comical and Morall Discourses, bothe pleasaunt and profitable to the well smellyng noses of learned Readers.* The printer of this miscellany was Henry Bynneman, and the publisher Richard Smith. A certain mystery surrounds its composition and publication. The real identity of G. T., who supplied the manuscript, and of H. W.,

who saw it through the press, remains a matter of conjecture. Most of the pieces in it, but by no means all, are by the table of contents attributed to George Gascoigne, who in 1572 was soldiering in Holland. In 1575 he nevertheless laid claim to the whole by having it reprinted, with the addition of fresh pieces, as *The Posies of George Gascoigne, Esquire, Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the authour*. "The Discourse of the adventures passed by Master F. I." there becomes "The pleasant fable of Ferdinando Jeron(i)mi and Leonora de Valasco, translated out of the Italian riding tales of Bartello". A few alterations modify the presentation of the tale, but leave its substance unaltered. That it had been written by Gascoigne has been generally accepted till Mr. B. M. Ward's recent attempt to prove that its author was Christopher Hatton. This is not the place to enter into a consideration of his arguments in favour of his attribution, or of those with which Dr Greg has sought to oppose it¹. Suffice it to say that the evidence supplied by the 1572 and the 1575 volumes respectively is rather contradictory. While the latter seems to speak for Gascoigne's authorship of the tale, the former seems to point to the opposite conclusion².

In its final form, this tale is described as a translation from the Italian. We have already remarked upon the unsubstantial character of the hypothesis that it was derived from Bandello. As its source has not been discovered in any other writer, one may doubtless look upon it as an original piece of work.

1. See Mr B. M. Ward's introduction to his, unfortunately truncated, reprint of *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres*, 1926. For the bibliography and a short summary of his controversy with Dr Greg, cf. *The Year's Work in English Studies*, VII, 1926, ed. by F. S. Boas and C. H. Herford, London, 1928, pp. 173-74.

2. So much at least seems to be implied by a comparison of what we read in the Table of contents with the words used by G. T. in a letter to "his very friend H. W. concerning this worke". The table of contents has the following items: "Thirdly, a pleasant discourse of the adventures of master F. I. conteyning excellent letters, sonets, Lays, Ballets, Rondlets, Verlayes and verses. Fourthly, divers excellent devises of sundry Gentlemen. Fiftly, certayne devises of master Gascoyne". G. T. writes on his side: "I have thought good (I say) to present you with this written booke, wherein you shall find a number of Sonets, layes, letters, Ballades, Rondlets, verlayes and verses, the workes of your friend and myne Master F. I. and divers others". From a fresh examination of the evidence, however, Mr F. T. Bowers concludes that the whole collection was the work of Gascoigne. See "Notes on Gascoigne's *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres* and *The Posies*", pp. 20-27.

The story related in 1575 is substantially as follows¹. Wishing to marry his daughter Francischina, whose name is here anglicized into that of Frances, the Lord of Valasco invites a gentleman, Ferdinando Jeronimi by name, in whom he sees a likely husband for her, to his castle in the neighbourhood of Florence. It is soon apparent, so far as one can judge from her behaviour, that Frances harbours in her heart a tender feeling for Ferdinando. But he does not return her love. Instead of paying his addresses to her, he seeks to win the favour of his host's daughter-in-law, Leonora de Valasco. This is a fairly easy matter, for this lady is a light-of-love whose paramour, a crooked mis-shapen fellow of a secretary who is far from being so fine a gentleman as Ferdinando, is for the time present away on some ill-defined mission. And in this Ferdinando has a discreet ally in Frances. She early notices his infatuation and, at least if we read her character rightly, for the author is for the most part content with recording her actions without probing into their motives and commenting upon them, is so free from all taint of self-seeking that she will help the man she loves to compass his desire, even at her own detriment, rather than not see him happy. At an early stage she informs him of the true character of Leonora, meaning thereby to warn him against the danger that some rival might snatch from him the lady upon whom his heart is set. Later on she gives him excellent advice as to the best means of succeeding in his enterprise. After he *has* succeeded, she sees him one day reenter his room at daybreak : she lets him know, in covered, guarded terms, that he has been descried, thus warning him to be more careful in the future. Later still, when, the Secretary having returned, jealousy throws Ferdinando into a languishing illness that leaves him too weak and dejected to stir out of his room, Frances is in the first rank of the ladies who visit and cheer him. All in vain. He cannot help letting Leonora perceive that jealousy is the cause of his uneasiness, with the result that, while she was up to that time simply hesitating between her old and her new paramour, she now reinstates the Secretary in her favour and dismisses Ferdinando. Without a thought for the devotedness of Frances, he goes away and plunges into a life of dissipation and debauchery.

1. We found our analysis upon the text as reprinted in Cunliffe's edition of the Works of Gascoigne.

This supplies the occasion for many pictures of elegant social life. The characters are shown riding out together, dining in company at the Lord of Valasco's table, or dancing in his great hall. We see them also paying calls upon one another, and visiting in their sick rooms both Leonora and Ferdinando. The visits to Ferdinando are described with particular care and fulness. The ladies bring him delicate dishes, cajole him, smooth and perfume his pillows for him, adorn his head with a fine silken scarf. Better still, they talk to make him forget his dark thoughts. Their talk is mostly of a pleasant turn, full of subtle enigmas and pretty quips. Sometimes it assumes a more formal guise, and then questions of love are debated and stories are told as they were in the *Cortegiano*, the *Asolani* and the *Filocolo*¹. There is hardly ever anything of the kind in the novels out of Bandello, and it cannot be said that for this part at least of his work the author of the tale modelled himself after them.

There might be thought to be some better ground for comparison in the fact that we are shown the birth and progress of Ferdinando's passion, the various stages in his courtship of Leonora, with his letters and her answers, the verses that he writes for her entertainment, Leonora's weak defence and, when this has been overcome, their amorous meetings, the description of which not unfrequently breathes a voluptuous and even a licentious atmosphere. But the resemblance is only of a superficial kind. For one thing, we miss here the usual moralizing accompaniment of the English novels out of Bandello. And here are neither their long, learned, ingenious, subtle and complicated soliloquies and speeches. Their place is taken by lively and piquant dialogue. The letters too are comparatively short, and the poems, though certainly not classical in tone, comparatively simple. Here is nothing like the deluge of

1. One of the questions asks which is more to be pitied of a gentleman who, having lived seven years in the daily company of a lady whom he loved and who did not requite his passion, has finally gone away from her, or of the same lady who, after the same gentleman's departure, has vainly loved him, without ever casting eyes upon him, for another seven years. One of the stories is that of the wise behaviour of a gentleman who, having discovered that his wife was unfaithful to him, said nothing but left a coin in the room every time he used his marital rights, till she asked the meaning of this and, upon hearing his explanation, was brought to such a sense of her shameful conduct that henceforth she never was guilty of the same offence again. For a study of the origin and diffusion in Renaissance literature of the picture of these social diversions see Crane, *Italian social customs of the sixteenth century*.

complicated sentimental rhetoric that we meet with in Belleforest, Painter and Fenton.

These writers would not, we feel, have failed to make Frances utter a long lament after the departure of Ferdinando and the final ruin of her hopes. Here not one word is spoken of the state of her feelings. At an earlier stage, if we understand that she loves Ferdinando, we have to guess it from what she does. For she never expressly says so. Nor does the author say so for her.

It is characteristic of this novel, indeed, that the feelings are not analysed, and hardly ever expressed at great length. They are revealed by the behaviour of the characters, must be guessed at from an attitude, a gesture, a passing word, indifferent in appearance but really, for those who are well informed enough to understand, pregnant with meaning. We see a couple of dancers: they are in earnest talk, and from this we are led to infer that they have much in common, but what they really say is not revealed. Or again the company are at table, or visiting in the room of one of their number. To an outsider they would seem to be talking of things without any definite import. But this one blushes, waxes pale, or brusquely leaves the room as if struck by a sudden distemper. For in actual truth the talk, under its banal outward appearance, is charged with a meaning discoverable only to those who are aware of what is hidden in each one's bosom. Constantly running under the web of daily life, of its little incidents and ordinary occupations, of its talk apparently devoid of any particular application and import, the more vividly coloured thread of the sentimental intrigue thus shows only at intervals. This is the atmosphere of life. It is hardly that of the English novels out of *Bandello*¹,

As might be expected from the fact that, in the *Rocke of Regard*, Whetstone made the story of Dom Diego and Ginevra the occasion for the compilation of two "love-passions" breathed out by the hero, the "Discourse of Rinaldo and Giletta" that forms part of the same volume offers many more examples of the rhetorical expression of the feelings through ample, refined, subtle and learned speeches, letters, soliloquies, laments and pieces of verse. Whetstone's pronouncement, in the "Argument" prefixed to it, to

1. See a fine appreciation of this novel in Bradner, *The first English Novel*.

the effect that "this discourse was first written in Italian by an unknowne authour" (ed. Collier, 42), is probably only another way of saying that it was original. Mr P. W. Long has noticed that it is on much the same plan as the story of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora de Valasco. "As in Gascoigne", he writes, "the lovers meet at a house-party, exchange letters and verses, and arrive at an understanding (though here without immorality). To continue the parallel, both lovers become ill, while a rival appears to take their place; both mistresses with company visit the heroes and make smooth their beds. Mistrust comes to both"¹. And all this is quite true. But the points of difference are even more striking than those of similarity. An essential one is that the love of Rinaldo and Giletta has nothing but what is chaste about it. There are others. A quotation from Whetstone's "argument" will sufficiently indicate those in the first part of his tale: "Rinaldo, masking with faire Giletta (at her brothers marriage), was so straungly surprised with the love of her, that necessitie inforst him to discover his sorrowes: Giletta, sufficiently persuaded of his constancie (after long suite by Rinaldo made) was in the end contented to love. After these two (secretely) had thus assured themselves, Rinaldo fel sicke, in whose absence one Seigner Frizaldo (by her parentes consent) was an earnest suter to Giletta". While in the names of the hero and heroine there is as it were an echo of those of Romeo and Juliet, this reminds one of their first meeting, and of Juliet's situation between Romeo and Count Paris, much more than of anything that happens between Ferdinando and Leonora. At this point there occur indeed some scenes that may have been inspired by the latter lovers' adventures. For Rinaldo is visited in his sick room by Giletta and various friends of his, very much as Ferdinando is in similar circumstances by Leonora and the other inmates of her father-in-law's household. But whereas in the earlier novel it is Ferdinando who is thrown into a jealous fit by Leonora's familiar usage of her former lover, here it is the other way about, and it is Frizaldo, to quote again from the Argument: "who (inferring on the familiaritie between Rinaldo and Giletta) became jealous". And henceforth Whetstone diverges both from Romeo and Juliet and from the story of Ferdinando and Leonora. "To quench (his) mistrust", as the Argument again

1. P. W. Long, *From Troilus to Euphues*, p. 370.

has it, "Giletta (for feare of her friendes displeasure) was foirst to make a shewe of good will towards Frizaldo, whom she loved not, and to hate Rinaldo, whome she liked as hir life. Rinaldo (unacquainted with his maistresse meaning) by the perverse practises of Frizaldo was driven into despaire, in so much as he leapt into the river of Poo, of purpose to drowne him selfe ; but wearie of this enterprise (labouring for life) he recovered the shoare : afterwards was knowne unto Giletta, and, having notice of Frizaldos trecherie, he slue him in a combat, and after that, with the consent of her friendes, married Giletta". The confession spoken towards the end of the tale (p. 87 ff.) by Giletta's waiting-maid Rosina throws light upon the meaning of all this : "She made first report", so we are told, "of the love betweene Rinaldo and Giletta ; then of Frizaldos liking and jealous distrust ; further how Giletta faipied to fancie him and to forsake Rinaldo, which devise she wrote in a letter, and inclosed it in an aple, thinking by the delivery therof to acquaint Rinaldo with her mind. But (quoth she) this aple came to my unhappie fingring, the which I delivered to Frizaldo, who toke out the comfortable, and counterfetted in Gilettas name a cruel letter, the which he wrapt in the aple, and wild me to bestow the same where I found it : the day folowing, Frizaido (*sic*) allured Giletta wher of force she shuld see Rinaldo, who delivered Rinaldo this aple. Rinaldo, reading the counterfetted letter, desperately drowned him selfe : which ill newes so discomforted Giletta, as she repined at all the instruments of his ill fortune, especially at Frizaldo, whose name she could not abide". Yet Rinaldo, as we know, was not dead. After his escape from drowning, he had led for some time a despairing life in the woods, and then had come back to Bologna, meaning to commit suicide under Giletta's window. She had heard his groans, recognized his voice and, rushing out to him and assuring him that he alone had her love, had advised him to go away without letting any one know that he was alive. Meanwhile she would tell her father that she had hitherto refused Frizaldo for a husband because of her love for Rinaldo, and proclaim herself ready to become the former's wife if at the end of one month the latter had not come to claim her as his own, whereas if he did come her father would let her marry him. To this her father gives a willing assent. But in the meantime, out of despite at Giletta's cold reception of his suit, Frizaldo had made an offer of his hand and heart to Rosina, who had accepted both with

alacrity. Now that he hopes to enjoy the mistress he contrives a plot to get rid of the maid. He wins her to come to his house, "under the colour of marriage", in the company of two friends who are no better than ruffians that take her into the woods and, at Frizaldo's bidding, prepare to murder her. She is delivered by a black knight who escorts her back to Bologna. They reach the town just as Frizaldo and Giletta are setting out for the church where their marriage is to be celebrated. Rosina stops the procession and reveals all that she knows of Frizaldo's treachery. Frizaldo denies the truth of the charge, and proclaims his readiness to vindicate his honour in single combat. The black knight takes up the challenge. They fight and Frizaldo is overcome. Then the black knight discovers himself : he is Rinaldo thus come to claim Giletta. Of course the tale ends with their nuptials.

This story is of a much more conventional, less modern kind, than that of Ferdinando Jeronimi. It is more conventional also in its technique. Here the reader is spared the pains of guessing at the feelings of the characters from their attitude and actions, and from brief sayings in which more is meant than is actually spoken, for they are either quite plainly expressed by the characters themselves, or carefully analysed by the author. After the dance at which he fell in love with Giletta, for instance, we are told that Rinaldo :

forthwith went into his chamber, and so to bed ; but his sleepe he divided on those whose heades were free from fancies : for he (God wot) one while, matching his base estate with her highe calling, sawe an impossibilitie of favour. Anone, joyning her curteous disposition with the force of love, was fed with slender hope. Thus hanging betwene hap and harme, the more he strived the more he was measht in the nettes of restlesse fancie. But in the end resolved to prosecute his suit, he soudenly caused his man to light a candle, and then to proffer his service, to paint his sorrowes, and to use excuse for his late silence, he invented these verses following... (ed. Collier, p. 46).

To be sure Fenton for one would have introduced in this place, instead of this brief analysis, several pages of soliloquy. Whetstone also shows himself more sparing in that he never allows the speeches and letters exchanged by Rinaldo and Giletta to run to any very great length. But he gives rhetoric a freer vein when he has to record words prompted by strong emotion. As in the following

soliloquy, uttered by Rinaldo after receiving from Giletta, as he thinks, a letter of dismissal :

Ah God! (quoth hee) how maye it so sweete a face should be matcht with so cruel a hart, such heavenly lookes with such hellish thoughts, so faire a creature with so foule conditions; and so modest a countenance with so mercilesse a minde? O Giletta! what meanest thou so to eclipse thy honour, darken thy vertue, and spoile thy wonted report of pitie, by murthering of thy faithfull friend? Hadst thou no feare of infamie? No thought of former vow? Might not remorse of conscience withdrawe thee from disloyaltie? Madest thou no more accompte of love then like unto a garment, at thy pleasure to put off and on? Couldst thou doe Rinaldo such injurie as to let another devoure the fruites of his toyle? Wouldest thou suffer Frizaldo to reape the crop of love that Rinaldo sowed with sighes, weeded with faith, did nourish with teares, and ripened with continual service? Suppose I admitt the force of thy second love, in excuse of all these wronges, with what face couldst thou triumphe in my miseries? Yea, desire my death, that loved thee so deare? Trust mee, cruell Giletta, if thine owne writing had not been witnesse, I would never have thought thee inconstant, nor had not thine own hands delivered the instrument of my destruction, I would hardly a credited thy letters; but on so certaine a prooffe, in vayne it were to hope. Ah, God! how rightly didst thou hit my fortune, when as thou saidst, thy apple would ease my sorrowes: in deed I found it in my death, and only death must cure my grief. And sith so subtilly thou prophesiedst my destruction, since it agreeth with thy wil, thy wretched desire shall forthwith be wrought¹.

If he has set speeches such as this, however, Whetstone hardly ever runs into the moralizing digressions to which Belleforest and Fenton evince such a pronounced leaning. But he also comments upon and exclaims against the deeds of his characters when they assume a dark hue beyond the ordinary. He inveighs against Frizaldo, for instance, when on the point of recording his attempt upon Rosina's life, in the following good set terms :

O, wretch, spoyled of pitie, reft of humanitie, catyfe more cruell then any tigre! howe couldst thou professe to love, with so bloudy a mynde, especially to acquite her with such crueltie, that spoyled her credit to do their (*sic*) courtesie? But why weare I time to wonder at thy unnaturall villanies, which spendst thy life without thought of vertue, and diedst without shewe of repentance? (p. 83).

1. Pp. 73-74. See also Rinaldo's later soliloquy under Giletta's window, p. 78.

It must doubtless be put to his credit that he is, in his use of sentimental and moralizing rhetoric, more sparing and discerning than Boaistuau, Belleforest and their English translators. But when all is said, if there is a difference between the atmosphere and technique of this tale of his and those of the novels out of Bandello, it is one of degree rather than of nature.

The similarity is closer still in *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his pleasure : Contaynyng many pretie Hystories by him set foorth in comely colours, and most delightfully discoursed*. This work was entered to Richard Watkins on august 6, 1576¹. It opens with an Epistle "To the Gentle Gentlewomen readers" signed R. B., and a "Letter of G(eorge) P(ettie) to R. B. concerning this work" dated "from my lodging in Holborn this 12 of July", and thus it seems to have been published a few weeks or months before Whetstone's *Rocke of Regard*, the Epistle Dedicatory of which is dated October, 15, 1576. In Pettie's choice of a title for his collection of novels there is an indication of a wish to do on a small scale what Painter had done on a larger one. But among Painter's novels it is those out of Bandello which Pettie's recall more than any other².

"Forced by your earnest importunity, and furthered by mine own idle opportunity", so Pettie writes to R. B., "I have set down in writing, and according to your request sent unto you, certain of those tragical trifles, which you have heard me in sundry companies at sundry times report, and so near as I could I have written them word for word as I then told them" (ed. Gollancz, I, 4). They are twelve in number. The subject of the first two, entitled Sinorix and Camma and Tereus and Progne, has already been indicated in these pages, as also the fact that the first originally comes from Plutarch, and the second from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Germanicus, the hero of the third one, is "a young gentleman of small living, of the kin, and in the court of Octavian, the Emperor", who, "becoming amorous of the Lady Agrippina, through great suit getteth her to wife" in spite of the fact that she is of a much higher social rank than he. Prompted by the wish to restore her

1. Arber's *Transcript*, II, 301.

2. As to this see more particularly Bush, *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure, and Mythology and the Renaissance tradition in English Poetry*.

to a station agreeing with the nobility of her birth, he behaves so valiantly that he "winneth to be proclaimed heir-apparent to the Empire". By so doing he procures both his and Agrippina's ruin. For his cousin Tiberius, envying his state, "despatcheth him privily with poison, and Agrippina for grief thereof refusing all bodily sustenance, most miserably famisheth herself to death" (I, 71). Amphiarus and Eriphile, the heroes of the next novel, whose story Pettie found in the *Fables* of Hyginus, are of lower condition. Eriphile was a rich widow of the town of Argos. Amphiarus also was wealthy, and when he sued her in marriage he was immediately accepted, "either liking other's possessions better than persons". But Eriphile wished to be the only possessor of their joint riches. Now a war happened to break out between the Argives and the Thebans. Instead of joining the ranks of the fighters as he should have done, Amphiarus kept hidden in his own house, for "being well seen in astronomy and other secret sciences" he "knew if he went to the wars he should not return alive". But the King of Argos, who thought him "a meet man to make one of his captains", promised great rewards to whoever could bring tidings of him. The prospect of this supplementary gain proved too much for Eriphile, who went and betrayed her unfortunate husband. She thus sent him to his death, for he no sooner set foot upon the Theban soil than the earth opened and swallowed him up. Yet she was not long to enjoy her ill-gotten wealth. When she found herself a widow for the second time, she "proffered her love to her old suitor Infortunio" who earlier in the story, "burning in fond affection towards" her, had been "at point to destroy himself" when seeing "Amphiarus's land preferred before his loyalty". He had survived, but his love for Eriphile had been turned into hate. He now repels her, and "in choler she consumeth away, and dieth" (I, 111 and 126). The fifth story, here bearing the title of Icilius and Virginia, is none other than that of Appius and Virginia, derived from Livy, which Painter had already related. The heroine of the next one (no 6), again borrowed from Hyginus, is that Alcest who consented to forsake this earth before the day appointed by Fate so that her beloved Admetus might enjoy the "double date of life" granted to him by the destinies if he could find one to die in his stead, and later was restored to her husband by Proserpina, moved with pity at the sight of his exceeding grief. In the seventh novel,

once more from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, "Scilla, daughter to Nisus, King of Alcatheë, disdainfully rejecting the humbler suit of Iphis, a young gentleman of her father's court, becometh unadvisedly amorous of King Minos, her father's and country's mortal foe, lying in siege about the city. To whom, by the counsel of Pandarina, she betrayeth her father, in stealing away his golden hair", a hair to which the fate of the city was attached, "and presenting it unto Minos in token of her love, which he reproachfully rejecteth. And being embarked to depart homewards, she essayeth to swim after him, and is drowned in the sea" (II, 1). Deriving from Livy perhaps through the intermediary of Painter I, 1, novel 8 is taken up with a relation of the betrothal of Horatia, that is Camilla, to Curiatius, and of the tragical end to which it was brought by the fight between the three Horatii and the three Curiatii. The next one (n^o 9) is a tale of the dire effects of jealousy related by Ovid both in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Ars amatoria*. With Pettie the hero and heroine, "Cephalus, a lusty young gallant, and Procris, a beautiful girl", are both "of the Duke of Venice' court", exactly as Camilla had been turned from a Greek matron into a gent ewoman of Sienna. They "become each amorous of other, and notwithstanding delays procured, at length are matched in marriage". "Within a year or two after they had been married", however, "his fancy was in a manner fully fed, and his disordinate desire began to decay". Worse still, he began to conceive some suspicion of the trustiness of his wife, especially when seeing "her retchless regards and light looks, which she now used towards all men". So that, "having occasion of far journey and long absence from her, he wrought this practice to try her truth. He told her his abode from her must of necessity be forty weeks ; but at the half-year's end, by that time his hair was wildly grown, he apparelled himself altogether contrary to his wonted guise, and by reason of his hair so disguised himself, that he was not known of any ; which done, his necessary affairs despatched; he returned into his own country, and came to his house in manner of a stranger which travelled the country". He found his wife "in more sober sort than he looked for" and, when he tried to seduce her, firm in her resolve to keep faithful to her conjugal vows. Her resistance broke down, however, before an offer of sumptuous presents. Having brought her to this, "Cephalus seeing the lewdness of his wife, bewrayed himself unto her who he was ; whereupon she was surprised

with such shame, and he with such sorrow, that they could not long time speak each to other : at length she fell down upon her knees, humbly craving his pardon. Cephalus knowing women to be weak to withstand the sight of money, and thinking that her very nature violently drew her to him, whom being her husband, though to her unknown, she loved entirely, he thought best for his own quiet, and to avoid infamy, to put up this presumption of this evil in his wife patiently, and to pardon her offence, and so they lived quietly together awhile". But later "Procris falling into the folly of extreme jealousy over her husband, pursueth him privily into the woods a-hunting, to see his behaviour : whom Cephalus hearing to rustle in a bush wherein she was shrouded, and thinking it had been some game, slayeth her unawares, and perceiving the deed, consumeth himself to death for sorrow" (II, 51, 63 and 73). Next come the story of the strange love of Pasiphae for a bull (nov. 10) and that of the no less surprising passion that was kindled in the heart of Pygmalion for a statue that he had made, and that Venus turned at his request into a woman of flesh and blood (nov. 11). These Pettie had also found in Ovid, but as in the case of the foregoing he introduces into them developments and incidents to which nothing corresponds in the Latin poet. As he sums it up, the story of Pasiphae is as follows : "Minos, King of Crete, regarding the beauty of Pasiphae, a waiting gentlewoman in his Court, falleth in love with her and maketh her his Queen. Whom Verecundus, a young gentleman also of the same Court, having solicited to lewdness, for fear of the King's displeasure, escapeth away by flight. Minos entereth into such rage of jealousy over his wife, that in his absence he setteth spies over her, to bewray her doings. Pasiphae becoming unnaturally amorous of a bull, by means of the carpenter Dedalus, bringeth forth a monstrous Child, in part resembling the sire, and in part the mother" (II, 84). As for his Pygmalion, he is "a gentleman of Piedmont" who, "continuing the space of certain years in honest affection and virtuous love with Penthea, wife to Luciano, a noble gentleman of the same country, is at length by her rejected, in respect of a base stranger". It is after this that, "abandoning the company of all women, and giving himself to the art of carving", he becomes infatuated with one of the productions of his own chisel (II, 108). It may be noticed that these two tales are in no way "tragical trifles". Nor is the one that winds up the collection. This is an

edifying discourse, rather than an actual tale, derived from the *Golden Legend*¹. It tells how "Alexius, given earnestly to follow the study of his book, and the knowledge of the liberal sciences, is diligently exhorted by his father to take a wife, whereunto though unwilling, he applieth himself, and is matched with such a one that in respect of her good graces he uttereth great commendation of womankind. But shortly after, falling into loathing of that which before he most loved, he repenteth himself of his bargain, and forsaking both house, and wife, and all worldly pleasures, consumeth the remainder of his life in pilgrimage, and travel" (II, 135).

If only their subject, apart from Pettie's treatment of it, was considered, some of these tales might be thought quite different from those that were related by the English translators and adapters of Bandello. They have no hero like Alexius, and not one of their novels assumes the guise, as this does, of a mere rhetorical exercise upon the merits and demerits of women. Nor do they ever record such extraordinary adventures as those of Pasiphae and of Pygmalion. But Pettie does much to bring even these within the limits of common experience by prefixing the wonderful happenings at the end, which he dispatches summarily, with the relation of a love-intrigue that does not transcend daily reality and goes far to explain the state of mind that leads Pasiphae to love a bull and Pygmalion to burn for a cold marble statue. So that the marvels that were at the core of these stories in Ovid are here no more than excrescences, the extraordinary character of which Pettie further destroys in the case of Pasiphae's adventure with the bull by addressing his fair readers in this guise: "But, Gentlewomen, because you shall not enter into cholerick conceits against me, for publishing in this presence, a history which seemeth so much to sound to the shame of your sex, I mean not to justify the truth of it, but rather will prove it false by the opinion of one Servius, who writeth, that Pasiphae indeed played false with one Taurus, ---which signifieth a bull---, secretary to her husband, in the house of Daedalus, and after, being delivered, had two sons, the one like Minos, the other like Taurus, and thereupon the poets feigned the

1. For the indications concerning Pettie's sources cf. Koepfel, *Op. Cit.*, p. 25. Gollancz's introduction to his reprint of *A Petite Pallace*, pp. xii-xiv, and Bush, *loc. cit.*

fable aforesaid" ¹. In his prefatory letter to R. B. he had indeed warned him that "divers discourses touch nearly divers of my near friends ; but the best is, they are so darkly figured forth, that only they whom they touch, can understand whom they touch" (I, 5). For all their extraordinary character and developments, these tales are nothing but a record of real happenings. This is precisely the claim of Bandello. And indeed we have here, in despite of appearances, the same sort of adventures as in the English novels out of Bandello. There one finds, it is true, no heroine like Camma. But when all is said her story, as well as those of Tereus and Progne, Germanicus and Agrippina, Amphiaraus and Eriphile, Icilius and Virginia, Cephalus and Procris, Scilla, and Pasiphae, are tales of unbridled lust, frenzied passion, treachery, revenge, and murder, in some cases reaching to effects of horror and ghastliness, very much in the same vein as the tragical tales borrowed from Bandello by Painter and by Fenton. Here is also, with Virginia, the chaste girl who sets greater store by honour than by life, and with Horatia, at least as she is painted by Pettie, the charming, touching maiden whose unhappiness is ruined by the untowardness of fate. Whereas the characters of many of the stories have sentimental experiences of the same order and nature as those which Painter and Fenton found in the novels which they translated from Boaistuau, Belleforest or Bandello. The most striking instance is perhaps that of Admetus and Alcest. Let us recall that, if Pettie is to be believed for it, they had begun to love at a time when their fathers, the Kings of Lybia and of Assur, were at war with each other, and they had been fain, in order to compass their union, to forsake

1. II, 105. Of the same order is Pettie's comment after Alcest has been restored to life by Proserpina and brought back to her husband (I, 196) : "This seemeth strange unto you, Gentlewomen, that a woman should die and then live again, but the meaning of it is this, that you should die to yourselves and live to your husbands ; that you should count their life your life, their death your destruction ; that you should not care to disease yourselves to please them ; that you should in all things frame yourselves to their fancies ; that if you see them disposed to mirth, you should endeavour to be pleasant. If they be solemn, you should be sad ; if they hard, you having ; if they delight in hawks, that you should love spaniels ; if they hunting, you hounds ; if they good company, you good house-keeping ; if they be hasty, that you should be patient ; if they be jealous, that you should lay aside all light looks ; if they frown, that you fear ; if they smile, that you laugh ; if they kiss, that you clepe, or at least give them two for one ; and so that in all things you should conform yourselves to their contentation : so shall there be one will in two minds, one heart in two bodies, and two bodies in one flesh".

the royal pomp and the splendours of the court and shift for themselves in a wood as best they might. Exactly like Alerane and Adelasia.

The similarity is seen to be closer still when Pettie's handling of his subjects is considered. But in this respect an important difference is first to be noticed. The moral to which Painter and Fenton gave expression did not always arise naturally out of their stories. Still, it was unequivocal, and there was never any doubt as to the lesson that they wished to impart, or as to whom their sympathies lay with. Quite otherwise with Pettie. His comment upon the story of Tereus and Progne is that :

It were hard here, Gentlewoman, for you to give sentence, who more offended of the husband or the wife, seeing the doings of both the one and the other near in the highest degree of devilishness — such unbridled lust and beastly cruelty in him, such monstrous mischief and murder in her ; in him such treason, in her such treachery ; in him such falseness, in her such furiousness ; in him such devilish desire, in her such revengeful ire ; in him such devilish heat, in her such haggish hate, that I think them both worthy to be condemned to the most bottomless pit in hell (I, 70).

In the same way he apportions the blame equally between Sinorix and Camma. Of Camma he does write indeed that he cannot "but commend her constancy, and chastity, and think her worthy to be compared to Lucrece, Penelope, or what woman soever that ever had any pre-eminence of praise for her virtue". But he also says that he must condemn her cruelty, remarking in this connection that "it is naturally incident in women to enter into extremities..... ; the mean they always meanly account of. Otherwise she might with reason rather than rigour have repressed his (Sinorix's) rage" (I, 47). If he often advises women to prove courteous, loving, chaste, honest, faithful and obedient, he also comments upon the story of Eriphile in this guise :

I am here, Gentlewomen, to admonish you not to suffer yourselves to be carried away with covetousness. You see to what miserable end it brought this married disloyal couple. And as well for your sakes as mine own I would wish you, who are endued with wealth sufficient to make a man, as they say, and who are at your own disposition and choice, not to yield yours lves as a prey to any who hath no need of your wealth. neither will gratefully accept your goods, but rather frankly to bequeath yourselves to some poor younger brother, who

may think himself made by marrying you ; who may thank his wife only for his wealth ; who may impute his happiness only to having you ; whom you may bind to you by benefits ; who will no doubt endeavour to counterpoise your living with his love, and your goods with his goodwill ; who will rather serve you than seek superiority over you ; who will rather be your man than your master ; your liege than your lord ; your subject than your sovereign ; whereby you shall live as you list, your profits shall pleasure you, your goods shall do you good (I, 132-133).

He nowhere shows the same singleness of purpose as his predecessors. At the end of the story of Alexius he addresses both his male and his female readers. To the former he says :

You, Gentlemen, may learn hereby not to dote too much of wives or women, but to use them as necessary evils ; and that if you be bidden to the heavenly banquet, you ought not to return answer that you have married a wife, and therefore cannot come, but rather to forsake wife and wealth, and take up the cross of Christ and follow him as Alexius did!

And to the latter :

You, Gentlewomen, may also learn hereby, not to repose any permanent pleasure in practising with your husbands, but only to use their company as a solace, to sweeten the sourness of this life withal, and to think that such superstitious love towards your husbands, doth withdraw you from the true love which you ought to bear towards God.

Which no doubt is excellent advice. Or would be if it were not immediately followed by these words :

But I could preach better to you in a more pleasant matter. I will leave this text to Master Parson, who while he is unmarried I warrant will dissuade you so earnestly from such idolatrous doting on your husbands, that he will not stick to tell you besides that you ought to have no respect of persons but to love an other man or himself so well as your husbands! (II, 166).

These are the final words of the book. Perhaps no better indication could have been given of the fact that Pettie's real attitude towards moral issues was one of detachment.

If anything, however, his moral disquisitions are even more numerous and plentiful, in proportion to the bulk of his work,

than those in Belleforest, Painter and Fenton. Maybe this is due to the fact that, even more than theirs, they are mere rhetorical exercises. Of course these disquisitions are to be found in the introduction to each tale, where Pettie formulates sometimes in a few lines, as in the story of Germanicus and Agrippina, but usually at much greater length, propositions of general import which the sequel of the story is meant to illustrate; but they also occur in the conclusion, where he passes judgment upon the doings of his characters, and imparts practical precepts for conduct, in a way that the foregoing quotations have made sufficiently clear. As good an example of a moralizing introduction as any is supplied by that to the story of Sinorix and Camma, which, while being somewhat developed, is nevertheless not too long for quotation:

As amongst all the bonds of benevolence and good-will there is none more honourable, ancient, or honest than marriage, so in my fancy there is none that doth more firmly fasten, and inseparably unite us together than the same estate doth, or wherein the fruits of true friendship do more plenteously appear. In the father is a certain severe love and careful good-will towards the child; the child beareth a fearful affection and awful obedience towards the father; the master hath an imperious regard of the servant, the servant a servile care of the master. The friendship amongst men is grounded upon no law, and dissolved upon every light occasion: the good-will of kinsfolk is commonly cold, as much of custom as of devotion: but in this stately state of matrimony, there is nothing fearful, nothing feigned, all things are done faithfully without doubting, truly without doubting, willingly without constraint, joyfully without complaint: yea, there is such a general consent and mutual agreement between the man and wife, that they both wish and will, covet and crave one thing. And as a scion grafted in a strange stalk, their natures being united by growth they become one, and together bear one fruit: so the love of the wife planted in the breast of her husband, their hearts by continuance of love become one, one sense and one soul serveth them both. And as the scion severed from the stock withereth away, if it be not grafted in some other, so a loving wife separated from the society of her husband, withereth away in woe, and leadeth a life no less pleasant than death, as the sequel of this history shall show, wherein you shall see a marvellous mirror of blessed matrimony, and a terrible type of beastly tyranny (I, 11-13).

But Pettie also puts in the mouths of his heroes a great many speeches that are actual moral essays. When offering his love to Camma, Sinorix engages with her in a long discussion, in which argument answers argument in settled order, upon the duties of

a virtuous wife (I, 18-23 and 24-29). The declaration of Germanicus to Agrippina assumes the form of a similar debate upon the respective merits of the state of celibacy and chastity and of the wedded state (I, 80-91). Later on, when her husband brings her the news that he has been chosen by the Emperor to succeed him upon the throne, Agrippina delivers for his benefit a long speech upon the perils usually besetting those in high stations (I, 101-104). In the next novel *Infortunio*, the lover whom Eriphile has disdained for Amphiarus, and Amphiarus after she has betrayed him, both launch into soliloquies several pages long in which they inveigh against womankind (I, 122-125 and 128-130). And so in novel after novel. When Admetus has left him to elope with Alcest, his father Atys deplores in a soliloquy the usual lack of gratitude in children towards their parents (I, 186-189). There is another misogynist tirade by Pygmalion after he has been jilted by Penthea, whom he loved with a pure and chaste love (II, 114-115). There is one more in the mouth of Alexius, who before had uttered a long, learned soliloquy in praise of women, and at a still earlier stage had discussed with his father, with great wealth of arguments, the merits and benefits of study and learning (II, 164-65, 152-162, 138-148). To all which Pettie still adds moral digressions of his own. The contented state of Admetus who, mounted upon his father's throne, enjoys in peace the love of Alcest, prompts him to interpolate into his narrative a regular essay upon the greater relish conferred upon present happiness by the remembrance of past misfortune (I, 190). The history of Cephalus and Procris he sprinkles with many passing remarks upon the theme of jealousy. And, to add only one more example, there is in the story of Pygmalion a long-drawn out disquisition upon the possibility of a man and a woman loving each other with a chaste love, purely ideal, in which the lust of the flesh has absolutely no part (II, 116-119).

For all the difference of his real attitude to moral issues, his practice in weighting his narrative with moralizing rhetoric is indeed quite like those of Belleforest, Painter and Fenton. Nor is this the only ground of resemblance between his work and theirs. Like them, he devotes the better part of the energies left unemployed by his moralizing disquisitions to describing the progress of love-intrigues usually bearing the same complexion as theirs and proceeding to their conclusion through the same stages. He shows the birth of love in both hero and heroine and usually, the moment

they recognize the presence of this unaccustomed feeling in their heart, they deliver one or more soliloquies in which they develop with great display of ornamentation and abundance of amplification all the antithetical themes of traditional sentimental rhetoric. When they have resolved to yield to their passion and endeavour to have it requited by the loved party, there are more soliloquies, together with various speeches and letters. At this point some peripetia usually intervenes, which is related mostly in a few lines only, as if it had been invented for no other purpose than to furnish a pretext for more soliloquies and speeches. In all the novels the properly narrative part, that in which the reader is informed of the adventures of the lovers and told what turn they take, is generally disposed of quite summarily. Pettie evidently aims less at relating a story than at exploiting to the fullest the speech-making possibilities of a given situation.

Of course he chooses those situations that are richest in such possibilities. His criminal people, such as Sinorix and Scilla, are not so lost to all sense of shame that their conscience does not eloquently reproach them with their base or cruel designs, and they display no less eloquence in order to silence it ¹. Whether Camma or Progne, those that have been struck by misfortune or have suffered from some injury are remarkably prolix in their lamentations (cf. I, 41-44 and 65-67). As for the lovers, either they are of unequal rank, in which case the gentleman expresses doubt of his success, as for instance Germanicus, if his condition is lower than that of his beloved, or of his wisdom, as for instance Minos, if it is higher. Or again, like Horatia, they have bestowed their affections upon an enemy of their country and express the conflict between love and duty with all the ingenuity and subtlety traditional in such exercises ever since the professors of rhetoric of the ancient world had laid down the rules for them ².

But perhaps the best means of conveying an idea of Pettie's manner is to analyse one of his stories. That of Horatia and Curiatius seems typical. Curiatius was "a young gentleman of the city of Albania in Italy" who used often to resort to Rome intent on business or on pleasure. "Now it was his chance as he

1. See in particular how Scilla debates with herself: II, 9-12 and 21-24.

2. Cf. I, 75-79, II, 87-89 and 45-46. Of the same order is also the speech of Scilla, II, 21-24, mentioned above.

strayed about the streets, to see a proper Gentlewoman named Horatia, sitting at her Father's door to take the air, and to recreate herself with the sight of those that passed by". So beautiful she was that he was smitten on the spot with an ardent love that compelled him to stop dead, stare at her, and at once make an offer of his service. To this she made but "a waspish answer" ; he returned to the charge ; she answered even more curtly than before and, suddenly going in, left him to utter a raging soliloquy in which he exclaimed against "the bravery of these fine girls" who, "the more they are courted the more they are coy, the more humble they are sued unto, the more loftily they look", and vented his ill humour by assuring himself that doubtless he had found this one more pliant if he had not sued her in the way of marriage. At which point he checked himself. He had no cause thus to accuse her of incontinency, and indeed she has little virtue who yields at the first assault. After all she did not know him. Doubtless she wanted, like the wise girl that she was, to make sure of the sincerity of his love before returning him a favourable answer. Let him then "pursue her with endless pain", for indeed she deserves it.

Presently, he learns that Horatia has been bidden to the wedding of a friend and resolves to go, as a masquer, to the dance that will follow¹. There he renews his suit, ardently and persuasively, and there she returns him a fresh denial no less strongly supported with excellent reasons, and he is left again to relieve his overcharged heart in a soliloquy. But this time he despairs of ever winning her, and pens her a letter to announce that, since she is so rigorous, he will seek to "mitigate his martyrdom" by going away into foreign parts. Now fully convinced of his sincerity, she hastens to write back that she does love him indeed. A marriage is soon arranged, but it has not yet been celebrated when a war breaks out between "the town of Albania and the city of Rome". Horatia now expresses in a soliloquy the trouble of her heart, torn asunder between her patriotism and her love of Curiatius. The famous combat between the Horatii and the Curiatii is briefly narrated in a few lines, but the opportunity for another piece of oratory, when Horatia exclaims against her brother for slaying her betrothed.

1. Perhaps another reminiscence of the feast at which Romeo first meets Juliet.

is eagerly seized upon before her death from the sword of the outraged victorious soldier is recorded in a few words.

Here is a strange variation upon the text of Livy. But it is not essentially different from those which Belleforest, Painter and Fenton had in many cases played upon that of Bandello. Though perhaps with less gratuitous invention on their part, they also had grafted upon his comparatively simple narrative love-stories of the same kind, similarly embellished with sentimental rhetoric and seasoned with abundant moralization. As there are also in Pettie's pages sundry allusions to the characters and major incidents in the novels out of Bandello that had been translated by Painter, it seems fair to presume that his adoption of a similar technique was the result of conscious imitation.

With only a few exceptions, the most notable of which is that of Profr. Douglas Bush¹, the attention of critics has hitherto been centred upon the particular structure of Pettie's sentences, the various schemes with which he adorns them and the rhetorical devices he resorts to in order to nourish his developments, rather than upon his technique as a story-teller. His style has been shown to be an anticipation of Lyly's². To our mind he is a forerunner of Lyly in still another respect. Though with the addition of various elements, foreign to Pettie, to which we shall return, the love-intrigues in both *Euphues*. *The Anatomy of Wyt* and *Euphues and his England* are built upon the same general pattern as that which Pettie has in common with the translators of novels out of Bandello.

Before considering this point, however, notice must be taken of *The Golden Aphroditis: A pleasant discourse, penned by John Grange Gentleman, Student in the Common Lawe of Englande*, published at London in 1577. That Grange wrote under the influence of Pettie is a thing that in the absence of biographical data cannot be definitely asserted. But he would not have written much otherwise if he had. In both style and technique he goes some steps further along upon the road that Pettie had just been treading. Mr. P. W. Long had his style in mind when writing that "*The Golden*

1. In the article mentioned above. See also Canby, *The Short Story in English* and *A study of the Short Story*, and Baker, *History of the English Novel*, II, ch. 2.

2. See especially R. W. Bond in his edition of *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, I, 138 ff.

Aphroditis, far more than any book hitherto adduced, anticipates Lyly's Euphuism" ¹. It is marked by a till then unexampled profusion of allusions drawn from history, mythology, fable, and real, extravagant or purely fanciful natural history, of quotations, of Latin tags, of proverbial and homely sayings, of parallel or antithetical statements made more pointed by rhyme and alliteration, of far-fetched metaphors kept up for an astounding length of time. And both for its style and the handling of its story it well deserves Henry Morley's description of it as "a type of the love-pamphlet that is nothing else", one of those pieces of work, that is, in which, together with "a little interposed verse" and "a free use of alliteration, antithesis, and forced analogies with supposed properties of things in nature, which are just as far from nature as the way of speech they were intended to adorn", what story there was "was used as a block for the display of choice patterns of verbal gallantry ; dialogues of the kind then thought wittiest, in quips, dumps, privy nips, or passions ; formally set debates upon love-questions, after dinner or supper ² ; model love-letters of suit, repulse, absolute denial, half denial, holding off or leading on ; soliloquies, pages long, of amorous desire, of thought in conflict balancing opinions" ³. Indeed there are few more curious, gorgeous, exaggeratedly sumptuous and complicated productions in the whole range of Elizabethan literature.

The daughter of Diana and Endymion, the heroine has been named A. Ω. because Apollo's oracle has told the Goddess her mother that she should be her only child, her first and last. The hero, N. O., is a valiant knight possessed of great riches. They meet in the temple of Cybele, where A. Ω. has come to pray that a relative of hers, Atalanta, that has for some offence been changed into a lioness and harnessed to the chariot of the Goddess, might be restored to human form. N. O. is bent upon a similar errand, Cybele having also

transformde into a Lions shape

Hyppomenes his cosin deare : for taking yeelded rape,
Without a reverence of the place : when beautie prickte his harte ⁴.

1. *From Troilus to Euphues*, p. 374.

2. Of course these dialogues and debates, as we have said already, are a development from other sources than the novels out of Bandello. See also hereafter.

3. H. Morley, *English Writers*, IX, p. 218.

4. F^o B 2, from a verse summary of the tale addressed "To the Courtelike Dames and Ladielike Gentlewomen".

Of course the Gods of Olympus constantly intervene in the life of Diana's daughter and shape her destiny. Now it so happens that N. O. has incensed Venus by his disdains. She makes A. Ω the instrument of her revenge. Like Hero and Leander and Theagenes and Chariclea, both young people are struck by Cupid's arrows when brought together in the temple. They might be happy in their mutual love but for the intrigues of a former disdained suitor of A. Ω. He wrongly informs N. O. that his betrothed is faithless to him and, when convinced of falsehood in a bout with staves in which N. O. wins an easy victory, tries to seduce her first with fair words and then with jewels. He is repulsed, however, and confessing that the maid's virtue is the stronger contents himself with the rank of a friend. Now the way lies clear for the betrothal of the virtuous, faithful lovers. The Gods of Olympus attend their sumptuous wedding. Quite fittingly, for they have done much all along to help bring about this happy consummation.

This the hero and heroine attain, after many vicissitudes, through the familiar run of meeting, declaration, evasive retort, renewed declarations, less and less discouraging and next more and more encouraging answers, quarrels and reconciliations, that provide pretexts for even more than the usual number of passionate, eloquent, refined, subtle and ingenious speeches, soliloquies, letters and pieces of verse, and for many a moralizing digression. Their style is indeed as much more ornate than Pettie's as his own was more so than those of Painter and of Fenton. But when all is said Grange's technique as a story-teller, the substance of his sentimental rhetoric and the uses to which he puts it, range *The Golden Aphroditis* in the same category as the English novels out of Bandello and the *Petite Pallace of Pettie his pleasure*. Both the more ornate character of his style, his freer use of embellishments derived from actual or legendary history and natural history, and the essential kinship of his rhetoric with theirs may be gathered from the following two examples of the tone in which N. O. usually addresses his beloved A. Ω. If he loves and sues her she is not to wonder, for :

What was it but blinde affection whiche moved *Byblis* to fall in love with hir owne brother? and *Mirrha* to fansie hir father most of al? or where was affectio(n) when poore *Pasiphae* was ravisht with the sight of a Bul? But how farforth did fonde affection rule in *Clisophus*,

raging (*non mediocriter*) uppon an Image at *Samos* made of white paria(n) Marble? In *Pigmalion*, towards a white yvorie image of naked *Venus*? & in a yong man a Citizen of *Athens*, who so fervently raged in fleshly lust towards an image of good fortune, sta(n)ding at the *Prytaneum* of *Athens*, that most ofte(n)times he lovingly inbraced it, and kissed it most sweetely, being very desirous to buy it of the Senate, offering for the same a mightie masse of money? but so outrageously did it raigne in the three Gentlewomen me(n)tioned in y^e Courtier, that they fel in love with a gentlema(n) at the sight of a letter in his co(m)mendatio(n)s, whom as yet they never saw. Such is the force of fonde affection. If this be true whiche stories make plaine, what marvell is it then (faire Ladye) that I with the sight of thee am ravisht? whose lively countenance feedeth as well myne eye, as did the disputations of learned men in schooles feede the eares of the worthy Emperour *Charles* the fourth, who seemest in my sight faire *Helen* of *Troy*, *Polixene*, *Caliope*, yea, *Atlanta* hir selfe in beautie to surpassse, *Pandoras* in qualities, *Penelope* and *Lucretia* in chastenesse to deface. Oh God why seeme I thus thy dower to disgrace? who seemest rather in honour *Juno*, in wisdome *Pallas*, in beautie *Venus*, in shape of personage *Aegeria*, in chastitie *Diana*, & to be short in huswifery *Minerva* (F^o F 1, recto).

And again, when A. Ω. has teased him by saying that in spite of all his fine words she does not know his "privy thoughtes" :

I trust (Lady) I have not deserved, that thy love shoulde waxe colder and colder towards mee, neyther that thy charitie shoulde decrease, if so I have, then use the Adamant stone whiche (as *Dioscorides* sayeth) will inforce thee to drawe it downe agayne. But what neede I thus to mistruste thy discourtesie? who already have founde thy tongue to be made of pure Alabaster, whiche perforce will keepe thee in amitie and charitie with all men : thy lippes of *Achates* of *Crete*, which maketh thee gracious : and thy face of *Geratites* (not for his colour but for his singuler vertue) whiche maketh thee so amiable, that no man can that seeth thee, but be enamoured with thee. Likewise the force of it (Ladie) is suche, that who carieth it close in his mouthe, knoweth what every one thinketh of hym. Wherefore (Lady) I neede not longer to blaze unto thee, for thou knowest full well my harte beyng once sette on fire with the pure love which I beare unto thee (moste lyke to the stone *Albeston*) can not be quenched agayne : neyther my mynde beyng once frozen with feare, can by any meanes but thorowe thy gracious goodnesse be thawed againe, lyke to the operation of *Gelacia* a very white gem, whose coldnesse is suche, that no fire can heate the same (f^o F 2, verso)¹.

1. For a summary of this novel, an analysis of the Euphuistic character of its style; and notes upon Grange's numerous borrowings see Hyder E. Rollins : "John Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis*".

With the *Golden Aphroditis* coming so soon after the *Petite Pallace of Pettie his pleasure* and having in common with it the same technique, in the matter of the relation of a love-story, as that of the English novels out of Bandello, we seem indeed to witness the full naturalisation in England, after its timid imitation by Whetstone, of the style of novel-writing characteristic of Boais-tuau, Belleforest and their immediate English followers. Its final success was to be ensured by its adoption, in the wake of Pettie certainly, and perhaps in that of Grange also, by John Lyly.

In his treatment of the love-stories in both *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt*, 1578, and *Euphues and his England*, 1580, Lyly departs from the practice of his forerunners by not mingling prose and verse and by assigning an important place to social conversation, whether informal or assuming the more formal guise of those "questions of love", or "*dubbi*", an example of which had already been provided in English literature, apart from translations from the Italian, by the author of the story of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora de Valasco. But for the rest his stories, which are in outline simplicity itself, are developed through the same run of learned, ingenious and plentiful rhetorical exercises, and seasoned in the usual manner with the author's reflections upon the doings of his characters. In so far as it is a novel *The Anatomy of Wyt* relates Lucilla's sudden and unexpected jilting, first of Philautus in favour of his friend Euphues, and next of Euphues in favour, of Curio. At Naples, disregarding the advice of wise old Eubulus, Euphues strikes up a friendship with a gay young cavalier of the name of Philautus. This Philautus had won the heart of fair Lucilla, and one evening he takes Euphues to the house of his beloved. There have been already several speeches of a strictly moral import, either when Eubulus offered his excellent advice to Euphues and Euphues returned him an impertinent answer, or when Euphues and Philautus vowed eternal friendship to each other (ed. Bond, I, 187-194 and 198-199). The flood-gates will now be open to sentimental rhetoric. At Lucilla's house, various nipping remarks pass before dinner between the young lady and her new guest, with the result that Euphues finds himself strangely moved by her wit as well as by her beauty (I, 200). After dinner, while discussing the questions, first "whether the qualities of the mynde, or the composition of the man, cause women most to lyke, or whether beautie or witte move men most to love", and next

"whether man or woman be sonest allured, whether be most constant the male or the female", he betrays both a strong wish to shine and a strange agitation, abruptly checking himself while developing the idea that what men style cruelty in women is most often nothing but an effect of chastity (I, 201-204). The company thereupon break up in some confusion. But the wit and brilliancy of Euphues have made a strong impression upon Lucilla, and he has hardly left her house when she launches forth into a soliloquy. She loves Euphues. Euphues indeed! Ought she not to keep her faith to Philautus? And will he not, if she prove fickle to his friend, refuse to believe in the sincerity of her passion for him? But why not, if it is for him that she is fickle to another? Which she cannot help being, since she is drawn to him by his greater worth. Yea, let her love Euphues! But how will her father, who knows of her understanding with Philautus, receive this turning of her affections to another? Well, there's no commanding the motions of the heart. Let her at least cherish her love of Euphues in secret, and for the rest trust to time. So she reasons with herself through several pages (I, 205-207). Meanwhile Euphues is indulging in a parallel soliloquy and, after putting to himself various objections, resolving to seek the love of Lucilla (I, 208-211). Of course there will still be plenty of rhetoric later on : when Euphues declares himself, is repulsed though not quite driven away, gives a fresh assault, is this time accepted and tells Lucilla his joy at her courteous answer (I, 215-226) ; when Philautus exclaims against his friend's treacherousness both in a soliloquy and in a letter to which Euphues returns a tart retort (I, 232-236) ; when Euphues receives his dismissal from Lucilla and vents his anger at being thus jilted (I, 237-242) ; when Lucilla opposes obstinate refusals to her father's pleading in favour, first of Philautus and next of Euphues (I, 227-231 and 243-245). One feels that Lyly has been anxious to avail himself to the full of the possibilities which his rather flimsy story furnished to him for indulging in rhetorical exercises of a kindred nature to those which accompany the progress of similar intrigues in the English novels out of *Bandello*.

This adventure marks the turning point in the career of Euphues, and determines his progress from the gaiety and brilliancy of a flirtations young cavalier who summarily rejects the advice of his elders to the deep wisdom of a sage if somewhat priggish hermit

who makes the study of theology his favourite occupation. He remembers Lucilla long enough to write a long misogynist disquisition, "a cooling Card for Philautus and all fond lovers", in which he lays down what attitude it is best to adopt towards love and women (I, 246-257) ; and later to address Philautus in a letter reproaching him with feeling at the news of her death a sorrow of which her past conduct made her unworthy (I, 311-313). But the rest of the book is taken up with the various productions of his wisdom : his programme of education, or "Euphues and his Ephoebus" (I, 260-286), his triumphant refutation of atheism, or "Euphues and Atheos" (I, 291-305), and his letters of excellent advice to his friends upon a great variety of subjects¹.

Yet there will be more love-stories in the next volume, and these again are provided with all the developments and embellishments that sentimental rhetoric and the love of fine language could give them. The scene is now laid in England. On their way thither, Euphues is insistent in his efforts at weaning his friend away from love and women. But they will meet there ladies far more sedate and virtuous than the giddy jilts with whom they kept company at Naples. They are given a first hint of their worth when Fidus, the wise old Kentish gentleman whose hospitality they receive while upon the road from Dover to London, relates to them the story of his youthful courtship of beautiful and courteous Iffida, who could never be his since her heart had been given to Thirsus, and who was so constant that she was laid low in a premature grave by her grief at the news of the death met by her beloved while fighting away in a distant land for King and country (II, 49-80). This is quite a simple story again. But again we are given to read all the soliloquies of Fidus and of Iffida, all the many speeches that pass between them, and also those that were uttered one evening in company, when the questions were proposed whether a man ought rather to choose for his wife "a faire foole, a witty wanton, or a crooked Saint", and a young lady prefer for her husband one that "excelled in all giftes of the bodye", but in these alone, one that "haddē nothing to commend

1. In these letters, besides reproaching Philautus for sorrowing upon the death of Lucilla, he advises him to lead a virtuous life, exhorts Eubulus to bear with fortitude the loss of his daughter, Botonio to take his exile patiently, Alcious to renounce his dissipated ways, and depicts for the benefit of Livia the dangers inherent in a life at the Court (I, 306-323).

him but a quicke witte", or one that "was a Gentleman of great possessions, large revenues, full of money, but neither the wisest that ever enjoyed so much, nor y^e properst that ever desired so much" (II, 58-63 and 70-72).

Though Fidus draws from it the conclusion that love is a source of more grief than joy, and Euphues makes it the occasion for again warning Philautus against this passion (II, 80-83), perhaps this story is better calculated to make him expect with eager anticipation his first meeting with ladies possessed of such sterling qualities as those of England. He has no sooner reached London than he is burning for one of them. And small blame to him, since the consideration of their virtues wrings from Euphues a confession that he was guilty of "extreme folly" in writing a cooling-card against women (II, 91). This does not mean, however, that the young sage is willing to have anything more to do with them, and when Philautus charges him with renouncing his principles and suspects him, in spite of all his preaching to the contrary, of having fallen in love with one of their fair new acquaintances, he flies into a passion, vigorously repels his insinuations, departs from him in a pet, and for a time renounces his society. This is the occasion for two lengthy speeches (II, 92-103), and it leaves Philautus free to try and win the fair Camilla. He had already been heard in a soliloquy at the end of which, after deploring the troubled state of his heart and very minutely going through all the reasons that made his success unlikely, in the fashion common all through this body of literature to all young men in the same predicament, he had resolved to prosecute his suit (II, 85-90). He now declares his passion to Camilla at a dance, receives from her an unfavourable answer, utters a despairing soliloquy after seeing her "tread the measures" with Surlus (II, 104-109), invokes in a long talk with Psellus, a countryman of his, the help of his magic in order to win the lady, is persuaded by the long-winded reasoning of the magician to renounce his design (II, 110-121), and instead plies Camilla with letters. He hides the first one in a pomegranate; she conceals her answer in the pages of a volume of the poems of Petrarch, and therein also he inserts his fresh offer of his love. The letters are quoted, as also the speeches that pass between Camilla, Philautus and their friends at the time of their stealthy delivery; an end being brought to this correspondence when Camilla enjoins Philautus not to write to her any more, and he announces

his intention of doing away with his life (II, 122-141). He does nothing of the kind, however, but seeks to regain the friendship of Euphues. He wins it back after many letters have passed between them, also followed by a long talk which serves Philautus to inform his friend of all that has passed during their estrangement (II, 142-160). Now they visit the ladies together. At the house of Flavia, the company engage after dinner in a long disputation upon the nature of true love (II, 161-183). All that is said is of a general import. Yet enough is spoken to show that Flavia's niece, Frauncis, looks upon Philautus with favour, and that Camilla returns the love of Surius. Indeed she distinctly reveals so much in a soliloquy, again modelled after the usual pattern, which she utters in her own room after the company have broken up (II, 184). But this will be the end of sentimental rhetoric for this volume. At this juncture, Euphues goes back to his native country, from which he addresses to Livia a lengthy description of England, entitled "Euphues' Glasse for Europe" (II, 191-217). Philautus has remained behind in England. The book closes with a letter announcing to Euphues his marriage with Frauncis and that of Surius with Camilla, and with the answer of Euphues sending congratulations seasoned, to the very last, with moral advice (II 218-227).

If to this analysis we add that the narrative is constantly interlarded with Lyly's own comments, sometimes developed at great length also, upon the sayings and doings of his characters, the kinship of his technique in the handling of a love-intrigue with that of the English novels out of Bandello will be fully apparent. In these novels, however, there was hardly anything of what plays an important part in *Euphues*, even in that portion of it that is mainly taken up with the relation of love-stories, we mean the social talk, polite or caustic, but always elegant, witty and refined, of well-bred people, and their formal debates upon love, its nature and all its variegated aspects and manifestations. Their moral preoccupations very often lured the translators of Bandello, on the other hand, into lengthy digressions, while in their fondness for fine speaking they were apt unduly to delay the progress of their stories. But in spite of moralization and rhetoric it was rare that with them the story should be quite lost sight of or brought to a complete standstill. Whereas it is not unfrequently so with

Lyly. He develops for their own sakes the social talk of his characters or the ideas which they discuss in their formal debates, without giving them any bearing, or hardly any, upon the progress of his story. So that even in their properly narrative parts the two volumes of *Euphues* often wear the aspect now of a courtesy book, or book of etiquette, and now of a moral treatise.

The latter aspect is of course more apparent when they are considered in their entirety and account is taken, along with the love-stories, not only of such detached pieces as the "cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond lovers", "Euphues and his Ephoebus", "Euphues and Atheos", and "Euphues' Glasse for Europe", but also of the advice of Eubulus to Euphues (I, 187-190), of the relation made by Euphues to Philautus, during their voyage to England, of the story of the hermit Cassander (II, 15-30), of their talk with Fidus about what attitude it is most fitting for commoners to adopt towards their sovereigns and those of other countries (II, 36-44), or about his bees (II, 44-48), and of the conversation between Philautus and Psellus upon the limits within which it is wise to confine the use of magic. All these are in effect detached essays, which result in the moralizing element strongly preponderating over the narrative one. It was this turning of the novel into a moral treatise that some of the immediate followers of Lyly mainly sought to imitate.

Curiously enough if one reflects how remarkably free from moralization and sentimental rhetoric he had kept when putting together his *Farewell to Militarie profession*, which he had composed in Ireland in 1579, one of the first writers to succumb to this influence was Barnabe Rich. His *Don Simonides*, the first part of whose adventures was published in 1581, has no sooner embarked upon his travels as a result of Clarinda's resolve, as she has told him, not to marry him or any one else, than he meets with Aristo, a wise old hermit who has retired from the world after losing a cherished spouse, and who now advises the youthful pilgrim to renounce his love and go back home (fo C2 ff.). Later on, at Genoa he will encounter Andruchio, the captain of the Castle of St Angelo, and upon his way from Genoa to Rome come across another hermit, Thomerchus, and keep company with Anthonio, a merchant who has fled from Mantua to escape from a young lady that his friends would make him marry against his will. All

three attempt to wean him from his amorous passion, and this is the occasion for many speeches, and for a discussion between Anthonio and Simonides in the course of which a remarkable array of arguments for or against love or woman are one after the other put forward by each one of the disputants (f^o P 3 ff). The author shows which way his sympathies incline by writing, at the end of this debate between the love-lorn pilgrim and the merchant that "*Simonides* ... went as faste as his feete could carrie hym, blowyng out in his furie, all the curses he could imagen against *Anthonio*, who (indeede) had given hym good counsaill". And he immediately after brings his book to a close with these words :

Gentilmen and faire Ladies, this is devised for the pleasure and profite of you, here maie you (as it were in a Mirror) behold bothe vertue and vice, the good and bad, how much the one profiteth, how greatly the other hindereth : If you se that Love is daungerous, full of inornities, subjecte to inconvenience, refuse it, and let your owne knowledge make you contemne it, if you finde that vertue is honourable, makyng us renowned in the worlde, and to leave an immortall name of honour to our posteritie, hunte after her, she derecteth all thinges in mediocrityte, so that if you seeke her, you shall never bee subject to inconvenience : if you delight in her, you shall have the wealthe of the worlde, and the perfecte habite of a devine soule" (f^o T 2).

There is in this concluding paragraph an unmistakable assertion of a moral purpose. Though we are informed by the title that here the "Travailes and adventures of Don Simonides" are "enterlaced with varietie of Historie", their second tome, which was published at London in 1584, is even fuller of moralizing disquisitions than the first¹. In this book Simonides is first made to listen, at Rome, to a debate between a monk, a man of law, and a soldier, upon the comparative merits of their respective professions (f^o B 1 ff.). Having read upon "Pasquins piller", where it was pasted, "Pasquins Invective against the lascivious Pope and his lecherous Cleargie", he is next favoured by his soldier friend

1. The full title is as follows : *The Second Tome of the Travailes and adventures of Don Simonides enterlaced with varietie of Historie, wherein the curteous and not curious Reader maie finde matters so leveled as maie suffice to please all humours. For malancholie men, they shall not neede to saile to Anticera, for here they shall finde pleasaunt expulsives. For merrie myndes, sober discourses to prevent excesse. For devoute, wholesome lessons to confirme their contemplation. For al sortes, such delightes as neither alow of daliaunce, nor discommende honest pleasure.*

with a description of the horrible corruptions of the Roman clergy (f^o E 4). At Naples, where he goes next, he is welcomed by a Spanish monk, who again tries to persuade him to renounce his love, tells him of the immorality of the youth of the place, and advises him to leave for Athens. For, he tells him :

amongst the whole catalogue of comely schollers, 'there shalt thou meete with a Gentleman of such experience, as may confirme thee in thy travaile, counsaile thee in thy Love, commend thee into straunge Countreis, comfort thee in all thy sorrowes, teach thee how thou oughtest to walke, yea, with so sweet a tongued Orator shalt thou meete, as *Aeschines* should be skoft at if he discommended hym, and *Anthony* the Orator derided at if he did imitate hym.

Further describing this paragon as a man :

who as the Bee sucketh honey findeth vertue, as the *Camelion* feedeth on the Ayre followeth contemplation, who can Court it with the best, and Scholler it with the most, in whom I know not whether I should more commend his maners or his learyng, the one is so exquisite, the other so generall,

this monk confides to him that he is "*Euphues*, who is curious in describyng the *Anotomie* of wit, and constant in reprehendyng vanities in Love" (f^o I 3).

Thus counselled, of course Simonides takes ship for Athens. It so happens that, temporarily absenting himself from his cell at Silexedra, Euphues was in the town at the time of the pilgrim's arrival there. They go sight-seeing together, and are present when some fishermen haul out of the sea a lead coffer that is found to contain, with the body of Lycurgus, a parchment upon which this ancient sage reproached the Athenians with disregarding his laws, and allowing their city to be tainted by all sorts of corruptions. As was to be expected from him, Euphues turns this into an occasion for discoursing upon the immorality of Athenian society (f^o M 3 ff.). After dinner, he also attempts to wean his guest from love, giving him what is in effect "*Euphues' his Cooling Carde for Simonides*" (f^o O 1 ff). And he reveals to him that there is an island in which one may find the virtues the lack of which among the Athenians had prompted the invective of Lycurgus against them. This island is England. Of the men of this country Euphues informs Simonides that :

Generally, they are all valiaunt not fearing Warlike attemptes, but with as great wisdom prevent, as with valewe thei performe. — Of personage thei are seemely, of behaviour comely, of apparell costly, in entertaynyng straungers none more readie : religious they be without hipocrisie : serious in preferringg their Countrey : to their froendes Lambes : to their enemies Lyons.

When the men have such virtues, he goes on :

what more to bee wondered at then their women : Beautie in them hath bestowed her sweetest colours : Nature hath benefited them with all seemely proportio(n) : Art finished them with science and affabilitie. — They are sweete in behaviour, without lightnesse, stedfaste in loving, yet not lascivious, constant in religion, not superstitious, brave in attire, yet are not proude.

But the greatest wonder in that country is the Queen that rules over it :

Truely the Englishe regiment (to eche mans admiration *Simonides*) at this day is so governed, as neither *Salomon* in *Jurie* for justice, nor *Alfonsus* of *Aragon*, for affabilitie, nor *Vespasian* of *Rome*, for correction, are to bee compared to hir that wildeth the kingly scepter there.

The simple truth is that "this blessed Princess *Elizabeth*" baffles description :

Such affinitie have the perfections of the minde wyth the proportion of the bodie (*Euphuus* goes on) as neither art can cypher out the person in approved colours, nor wisdom conceive the inwarde vertues since they exceede imagination.

And again :

I have read of many, that for their wisdom, excellencie, and other their vertues were worthy of soverainty, yet neither *Helerna*, for wisdom, nor *Zoe* for policie maye matche hir : *Hermodica* she is for hir proportion, *Aspasia* for her knowlege in philosophie, fitter to governe a kingdome than *Zenobia*, & meeter than *Arete* to teache *Aristippus*, for chastitie shee matcheth *Adesia*, for eloquence *Cornelia*, for religion *Fabiola*, my tongue faileth me to declare, not her vertues to supplie matter : her princely majestie is mixed with natural clemencie as the rose amidst the brambles, so her vertues amongst many women (f^os O 4 and P 1).

Small wonder that *Simonides* should be burning to leave for England.

This he does soon after, bearing letters from Euphues to Philautus. During the voyage a fellow-traveller, a philosopher named Philesius, one day entertains him with talk of "the worlde, which is spherical and rounde (which of all proportions is the beste) nexte of the governement of so myraculous a firmament, thirdly, of the operation the superior powers have in these inferiour subjectes : fourthly, what affinitie may be betweene Arte and Nature : fiftly, howe Arte came first to light, and was continued by succession". On another day he discourses upon the nature of dreams. All this he does so compendiously that our pilgrim begins to regret having left his native town "for Love and not for learning" (f^o P 4 ff.). At London he is entertained by Philautus. The talk of the company is, as in Lyly himself, full of "quips and privy nips", and after dinner there is, as again in the pages of *Euphues*, a formal debate, or rather a succession of formal debates, upon these questions : "Whether beautie be more commendable in a base borne creature, than in her that is sprong of noble parentage.—In choice of husbantes, if a lady were to be limited betweene two personages, whether she would alow of the Souldior for her bedfellow, or of the Courtier for her husband.—Whether the Lawyer or the Phisition be more commendable in a state" (f^o R 2 ff.). His new friends next take Simonides to the Court. The Queen he finds indeed such as Euphues has described her. But the manners of the English are in his opinion not more commendable than those of the Italians. Nowhere in his travels has he met with a virtuous people, and so he decides to go back home. There another disillusionment is in store for him. Clarinda was so little sincere in her professed resolve to devote herself to the service of Diana that during his absence she has married an old miser¹. The book closes with one more invective against women (f^o V 1).

Moralization occupies in these two volumes of Rich almost as much space as in those of Lyly. But it does not so completely outweigh the narrative element. For many of the people whom Simonides meets on the way relate to him the history of their past life. The title-page of the second volume accurately described the contents of both when it said that the "travailes and adventures"

1. In the *Selva de Aventuras* of Contreras, the model followed by Rich at the beginning of his novel, the heroine has on the contrary kept faithful to her resolve and become a nun.

of the hero were "enterlaced with varietie of Historie". Here are, in the first part, Porcia, the niece of the Duke of Ferrara, who fled the Court in order to marry the man she loved and, when he died after they had tasted three years' happiness in the woods, remained seven years a solitary mourner by his grave (f^o E 3 to H 3) ; Lamia, that wife of a Venetian merchant, who betrayed her husband and escaped detection thanks to the nimbleness of wit and readiness of invention of her maid (f^o H 3, verso to M 2) ; and Titerus, a shepherd who was most cruelly punished by Venus for his disdains of loving Daphne, and whose story might have been told by some pastoral writer well versed in Ovid (f^o M 4 to P 1). In the second part again we meet with Priscilla, a lady of the family of the Medici who had been, when Simonides encountered her, five years pining by the graves of two cavaliers who had killed each other while fighting over her (f^o F 3 to H 1) ; and finally with Orienta, a young girl of the city of Sienna who succeeds in tricking her old suitor, the banker Sertorius, out of a handsome sum of money which she bestows, together with her person, upon her young lover Fulvius (f^o K 1 to M 2). Well might the title-page of the second tome boast that therein "the curteous and not curious Reader maie finde matters so leveled as maie suffice to please all humours". The narrative portion is here possessed of the same variety as is characteristic of the same author's *Farewell to Militarie profession*. In point of contents, *Don Simonides* is a sort of cross between this book and *Euphuus*.

A somewhat similar mingling together of the didactic with the narrative element is also to be found in Whetstone's *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, 1582. In seven several nights, at Christmas time, "sundrie well courted Gentlemen and Gentlewomen" discuss : the respective advantages of the married and of the single state ; whether it is good for parents not to consult the inclination of their children when marrying them ; which should be the main consideration in the choice of a wife, with a warning against rash marriages ; whether woman be capable of reaching as great perfection as man ; the inconveniences arising out of too great an inequality of rank, or of years, between husband and wife ; the exercise of the last evening, finally, containing "a Discourse of the excellencie of Marriage : with many sound Lawes and directions, to continue love betweene the married". But the speakers hardly ever fail to

relate a tale to illustrate their points. The first one, related the first evening, is a translation of Marguerite de Navarre's 71st novel : « Une femme estant aux abboiz de la mort, se courrouça en sorte, voyant que son mary accolloit sa chambriere, qu'elle revint en santé ». The inconveniences of forced marriages, and those of rash marriages, are each illustrated by a tragical story, the latter of which again is founded upon one of the novels in the French *Heptaméron* (novel 32). Examples of evil in men are provided by the story, seeming to combine two of those in the *Decameron*, of a friar who so far forgot his vows as to abuse the simplicity of one of his fair parishioners in an attempt, fortunately frustrated, to take his fleshly pleasure of her, and by that of Promos and Cassandra¹. Finally, the praise of marriage that is a union of hearts is sung in the romantic story, already analysed upon a previous page, of Phrigius and Pieria. Here also it might have been claimed with justice that the moralizing disquisitions were "enterlaced with varietie of Historie". As in its didactic portion and general make-up this *Heptameron* seems to proceed, however, from the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione, the English translation of which had appeared as early as 1561, rather than from *Euphues*, it need not detain us here longer than is necessary to point out that, in spite of the success of Lyly, all writers were not prepared to go in the matter of sermonizing to the same unrestrained lengths as he had.

Not even when they alluded to *Euphues* upon their title-page, as Anthony Munday did when he published *Zelauto. The Fountaine of Fame. Erected in an Orchard of Amorous Adventures. Containing A Delicate Disputation, gallantly discoursed betweene two noble Gentlemen of Italye. Given for a freendly entertainment to Euphues, at his late arrivall into England..... 1580*. The hero of this book is a son of the Duke of Venice who has left his father's Court in quest of adventure. Landing upon the shore of Sicily, he is set upon by a misanthropical hermit, Astraephe, but persuades him to spare his life and, having been courteously invited into his cell, relates to him the story of his life (pp. 9-15). After various adven-

1. The probable source of the first of these two stories is *Decameron*, IV, 2 and VIII, 4 : cf. M. A. Scott, *Op. cit.*, p. 48. For the second, cf. above, p. 219.

tures in the region of Naples and in Spain, where he was told by English merchants of the happy estate of their country and the wise government of their princess, he has repaired to the English court, and there has seen "a gallant devise presented in a Tournament", which he describes at some length. In this a lady who had in verse sung the praise of the Queen is answered by a champion who seems to extol his mistress above the sovereign. The lady rebukes him, and after they have bandied speeches for some time, "the Champion rydeth to the one end of the Tylt, and she to the other, and there they deale according as the order and custome is therof", the outcome being that the champion is overcome and confesses his error (pp. 16-48). Zelauto still "tellethe to Astraepho the verses that he wrote in the commendation of the Englishe Queene" and "rehearseth the verses that he wrote in the prayse of a certayne Noble Lorde in the English Court" (pp. 49-52), and then he proceeds to relate his adventures in Persia. There he effected the conversion of his worthy host and hostess, and in a single fight against her brother, whom he killed in the lists, saved from death the Soldan's daughter, who had been sentenced to be burned at the stake for embracing the Christian religion. He was thereupon treacherously thrown into jail, but was happily set free with the help of the jailor's wife (pp. 55-99). At which point of the narrative Astraepho must leave Zelauto and busy himself with the preparations for their dinner. To help his guest while away the time, he gives him to read the story of Cornelia and her lover Strabino. This Cornelia was sought in marriage by an old usurer, Truculento. But her brother Rodolfo managed things so cleverly that he made Truculento himself the instrument of her father's bestowing her upon Strabino. By leading him to hope that he should interpose in his favour, he brought him to lend to Strabino—himself heavily borrowing from him at the same time—a sum of money which the young lover made use of to buy a rich jewel that he presented Cornelia's father with, and in exchange for which he was accepted for his son-in-law. The better to ingratiate himself with Rodolfo, Truculento in the meantime had given him to wife his own daughter Brisana. But the young men fail to repay the borrowed moneys on the appointed day. Now they had pledged their lands and their right eyes as security for the loan and, claiming his forfeit, Truculento takes them into court. There however, very much as Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, and with the help of

similar arguments, he is balked of his suit through the intervention of the two young women disguised as lawyers¹.

Perhaps one may see a trace of the influence of Lyly in the praise bestowed upon the Queen, and in the talk between Zelauto and his various guests in Spain, in England or in Persia. Miss Byrne remarks, however, that "there is a verve and a sprightliness about the conversation, and a mastery of dialogue that gives it a great advantage over Lyly's pointed but unnatural and often stilted wit"². The book is indeed full of homely proverbs and, as Miss Celeste Turner puts it, "sprinkled with the names of Cato and Cicero". But the same critic notes that it "lacks zoological similes", and expresses the opinion that it is "too vigorous in style to be prettily foppish like *Euphues*"³. The temper of the stories, besides, has nothing in common with those related by Lyly. And there is here practically none of Lyly's didacticism.

Neither is there in Lodge's *History of Forbonius and Prisceria* (1584). But there is somewhat more, though far less than in *Euphues*, in William Warner's *Pan his Syrinx*, which was entered in the Registers of the Company of Stationers on September 22, 1584⁴. The full title reads as *Pan his Syrinx, or Pipe, compact of seven Reedes : including in one, seven Tragical and Comicall Arguments, with their divers Notes not impertinent : Whereby, in effect, of all thinges is touched, in few, something of the vayne, wanton, proud, and inconstant course of the World. Neither herein, to somewhat praise-worthie, is prayse wanting.....* It is again a collection of tales, inserted within another that serves them for a frame. Sorares and his company of Assyrians have been schipwrecked on a desolate island, and Atys and Abynados sail in quest of their father. The first part, or Calamus primus, entitled Arbaces, relates the adventures of Sorares and his party, upon the island, with a company of Medes that had long before been thrown upon it. Next after this come various adventures happening to Atys and

1. Pp. 101-156. *Zelauto* is extant in a unique copy, preserved in the Bodleian Library. Portion of the third part has been reprinted by Friedrich Brie in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, LXIX (1913).

2. *Anthony Munday and his Books*, p. 250.

3. *Anthony Mundy*, p. 35.

4. *Arber's Transcript*, II, 435.

Abynados, and various stories related to them by people whom they meet with in the course of their travels. Here we hear of a Scythian Lord who punishes his Lady for being disloyal to him, and plotting for his assassination, by striking off the head of her paramour and making her feed upon his remains, to the exclusion of all other sustenance, till she has eaten them up (Thetis, Calamus secundus). The story of Pheone (Calamus quartus) is much more complicated and wonderful. The sister of Selchim the King of Cicyona, she had plighted her faith to Staurobates the King of India, and agreed with him that before a certain time was expired he would send a ship to take her into his own country. The delay ran out without her hearing from him, and feeling herself with child she ran away from her brother's court. All attempts at discovering her abode were unavailing, and at length Staurobates sued for the hand of Selchim's daughter Marpissa. But she loved a young man of low condition, Crisippus, the son of a merchant, and eloped with him. The fugitives were overtaken, and sentence of death was to be executed upon them when Pheone reappeared and revealed that Crisippus was in actual fact her own and Staurobates' son. Nothing short of a general reconciliation could follow such a wonderful piece of information. This story is related by a member of the party of Atys and Abynados. Next come in parts V and VI a tangled series of rebellions, depositions, usurpations and reinstatements of the lawful sovereigns upon their thrones, made more complicated still by the rivalries of lovers. In these Atys and Abynados are so directly interested that at one time they are thrown into prison. They are mere listeners again when the story of Opheltes is related (Calamus septimus). This Opheltes deserts his wife Alcippe to live with a courtesan. All goes well with him as long as he is well provided with money. But when he has wasted all his substance the grasping harlot brutally turns him out. A poor woman who hears him complain of his hard lot advises him to go back to his wife. Alas! he does not know what has become of her. The woman now reveals to him that it is his Alcippe who is before him. Alcippe who, having gone in quest of her husband after his desertion of her, had found him, taken service with his paramour as a poor scullion, endured without a word the spectacle of their endearments, and is now ready to welcome him back to her loving arms. Needless to say, such devotion brings about the reformation of Opheltes. And now there is

nothing more to do than bring the book to an end by effecting the reunion of Abynados and Sorares.

There are also in this strange medley sundry didactic elements. The first part contains a speech against ambition and avarice by one of the Medes (chapter 4). In the second part the Scythian Lord inveighs against the levity and vanity of women, describes the working of lust, and prescribes rules against lasciviousness. (chapters 9 to 11). The third part is almost wholly taken up with a debate upon the dangers of seafaring. In the sixth Atys sings the praises of woman and of matrimony (chapters 37 to 39). While the seventh contains a disquisition "of good and bad magistrates, & of the tedious suites of poore Clyants" (chapter 45), and another that is summarised in the chapter-heading as "Ingratitude & disdaine condemned, their Contraries Co(m)mended, and of man, as he is flesh, discyphered" (chapter 48)¹. It may be that the presence of these moralizing developments is due to the influence of *Euphues*, and in particular that Profr. Baker is substantially right, though there is not so much of this as he seems to imply, when stating that "Warner follows Lyly in the continual debates upon women, whose whimsical fashions in dress and deportment, as well as their subtleties in the undoing of men, are uncharitably described"². But Warner is certainly far less insistent upon his moralization than Lyly, and in its general make-up there can be no doubt that *Pan his Syrinx* is so different from *Euphues*. *The Anatomy of Wyt* and *Euphues and his England* that its author must be reckoned among those who resisted the influence of Lyly rather than among those who succumbed to it.

But the curious thing is that, however much independence they succeeded in preserving while the vogue of *Euphues* was at its highest, the writers of all these works adopted in the treatment of their love-intrigues precisely the same technique as, once more, Lyly, Pettie, and the English translators of Bandello. One of the tales related by Barnabe Rich in *Don Simonides*, that of Lamia, is, as we have said already, founded upon one of Bandello's novels. And though there was nothing of this either in the Italian original

1. These chapter-headings I take from the table annexed to the second edition, 1597.

2. *History of the English Novel*, II, 121.

or in the French translation that was accessible to him, he filled his own version of it with the same sentimental and moralizing rhetoric as characterised the translations of Boaistuau, Belleforest, Painter and Fenton. This technique he adopts also in his account of the loves of Don Simonides and Clarinda. When Simonides offers her his love, Clarinda repels him by proclaiming her resolve to lead a life entirely devoted to chastity, and he is thereby thrown into a languishing illness that confines him to his room. There he is visited by the lady, who advises him to call reason to his aid in order to vanquish his passions. Then it is that, understanding that he has nothing to hope from her, he resolves upon going away in the attire of a palmer. His soliloquy before setting out provides a fair example of Rich's sentimental rhetoric in this book of his :

To the attaineme(n)t of an *Andromida*, who would not venture with *Perseus*? or for the goodwyll of a Virgin who would not bestryde *Pegasus*? who woulde not be *Leander* for *Hero*? or *Theagines*, to injoy a *Cariclea* : base brutes they be, that measure not love and honor together, synce none can be venturous, except hee be amorous... The lover (if he adventure) hath this, an unspotted Vyrgin for his guerdon, with whom hee may injoye (a more then) heavenly contemplation, and by whom, hee may receive (a more then) pleasaunt possession, in whom the worlde shall be multiplyed with gallaunt myndes, and the venturer injoy an assured signe of victorye.....

Well *Simonides*, leave off thy sowre remembraunce of thy Parentes, synce by the present toyle, thou art to be infeofed, of a possession that is most delectable : and let thy crased mynde be comforted, with an assured hope of royall rewarde : lose not a more then heavenly possession for a litle pleasaunt travyll, to thine owne perfection. Thou hast thought thy *Clarinda* worthye thy love, then think not scorne to please her by thy labour : perhaps at this very instant, she bethinkes her selfe of thy journey, in thy constancie, and determyning, that thou onelye for thy fayth shalt be rewarded with her love, let not her opynion be frustrated : *Simonides*, shee loveth thee, and leave thou not to lyve for her (Part I, f^{ors} D 1 and 2).

Such is the style that Barnabe Rich is now using, at the same time that he is packing his book with didactic developments of which there was hardly a trace in his previous works. Both sentimental rhetoric and moralization he had resolutely and expressly waived aside in the preceding one, the *Farewell to Militarie profession*. The practice of abundant moralizing disquisitions he now adopts, as we have seen, in the wake of Lyly's *Euphues*. His

adoption of sentimental rhetoric must doubtless be ascribed to the same influence. His change of manner in *Don Simonides* exemplifies quite clearly indeed the part played by Lyly in naturalizing in England, whatever its ultimate origin, the peculiar technique in the handling of a love-story characteristic of the English novels out of Bandello and of the French models upon which they were founded.

In some of the stories that he relates in his *Heptameron* Whetstone in his turn adopts this same technique rather more consistently and fully than he had done in *The Rocke of Regard*. To take only the most interesting instance, he submits novel 32 of Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* to a treatment in all points similar to that which the novels of Bandello had received at the hands of Boaistuau and Belleforest. The relation of the actual events of the story hardly takes more than one page in the French original. The injured husband himself explains to his guest :

Ceste dame, que vous voyez, est ma femme, laquelle j'ay plus aimée que jamais homme ne pourroit aimer la sienne : tant que pour l'espouser j'ay oublié toute crainte, en sorte que je l'amenay icy malgré ses parens. Elle aussi me monstroît tant de signes d'amour, que j'eusse hazardé dix mille vies, pour la mettre ceans à son aise & au mien, ou nous avons vescu long temps en tel repos & contentement, que je me tenois le plus heureux gentil-homme de la Chrestienté. Mais en un voyage que je fey, ou mon honneur me co(n)traignoit aller, elle oubliât tant le sien, sa conscience, & l'amour qu'elle avoit en moy, qu'elle fut amoureuse d'un jeune gentil-homme que j'avois nourry ceans, dont à mon retour je m'en cuiday appercevoir. Si est-ce que l'amour, que luy portois, estoit si grande, que je ne me pouvois deffier d'elle, jusques à ce que l'experience m'ouvrit les yeux, & vey ce que je craignois plus que la mort. Parquoy l'amour, que je luy portois, fut convertie en fureur & desespoir : de sorte que je la guettay de si pres, qu'un jour feigna(n)t aller dehors me cachay en la chambre, ou maintenant elle demeure : en laquelle bien tost apres mon partement se retira, & y feit venir ce jeune ge(n)til-homme, lequel je vey entrer avec la privauté qui n'appartenoit qu'à moy avoir à elle. Mais quand je vey qu'il vouloit monter sur le lict aupres d'elle, je sailly dehors, & le prins entre ses bras, ou je le tuay. Et pour ce que le crime de ma femme me sembla si gra(n)d, que telle mort n'estoit suffisante pour la punir, je luy ordonnay une peine, que je pense qu'elle a plus desagreable que la mort : c'est, de l'enfermer en la cha(m)bre ou elle se retiroit pour prendre ses plus gra(n)ds delices, & en la compagnie de celui qu'elle aimoit trop mieux que moy : auquel lieu je luy ay mis dans une armoire tous les os de son amy, tenduz comme une chose.

precieuse en un cabinet. Et à fin qu'elle n'en oublie la memoire, en beuva(n)t & mangea(n)t luy fais servir à table tout devant moy, en lieu de couppc, la teste de ce meschant, à ce qu'elle voye vivant celuy qu'elle faict son mortel ennemy par sa faulte, & mort pour l'amour d'elle celuy duquel elle avoit preferé l'amitié à la mie(n)ne : & ainsi elle voit à disner & soupper les deux choses qui plus luy doivent desplaire, l'ennemy vivant, & l'amy mort, & tout par son peché. Au demeurant, je la traicte comme moy : sinon qu'elle va tondue : car l'ornement des cheveux n'appartient à l'adultere, ne le voile à l'impudique : parquoy s'en va rasée, monstrant qu'elle a perdu l'honneur, la chasteté & pudicité. S'il vous plaist prendre la peine de la veoir, je vous y meneray. (fo 119).

In Whetstone's novel, the account of the guilty wife's punishment is fairly closely modelled upon this passage. Having pretended to absent himself from home Malipiero, the injured husband, suddenly returns about midnight and surprises his wife Felice and her lover Marino "amids their imbraceme(n)ts":

Malipiero, in his revenge like a Lyon hungry after his pray: with his Rapier and these bitter wordes nayled *Marino* unto the Bed.

Thou Couche (q(uoth) he) soyled with dishonour, washe out thy staynes, with the Adulterers blood.

But holding death too easy a scourge for his wives trespas, hee conde(m)-ned her to this torture, more extreme then death: Hee made an *Anotomy* of her welbeloved *Marino*, & set him in a fayre Chamber, within whiche, hee inclosed his wyfe, w(ith)out dooing her any bodely injurie, save the cutting of her haire: and to say trueth, this beautifull ornament of haire, beseemeth not an Adultresse head. And to punish her the more, *Malipiero* caused her everie dinner & supper to take her accustomed place, y^t at meales shee might be tormented with the sighte of her lyvinge enemie, and all the daye with the bones of her martired friende: neither could she quenche her thirst, but out of a Mazar, made of *Marrinoes* skull (fo L 2).

But this, with which the story ends, is preceded by a nearly ten-page-long relation of the events leading up to the final catastrophe (fo K 1 to L 2). The son and heir of a Neapolitan gentleman renowned in his youth for many valiant services, Marco Malipiero falls in love with Felice, "the Daughter of *Philippo Provolo*, an auncient Gentleman by harde adventure decayed", and, refusing to listen to the excellent advice given him by his schoolmaster, whose speech takes up almost two pages, secretly marries her in despite of his family's wishes. Then comes a description of the life led by the young married couple after Marco

Malipiero's father has cut off all supplies. A life full of difficulties for the husband. As for the wife, she "would manie times walke, unto the *Piatso Richio*, a place where the bravest Gentlemen assembled, & where the fynest devices were sould", and this moves the narrator to offer the following comment :

She taking this libertie to walke, bound the gallant yong Gentlemen, in curtesie to Court her : curtuous service, is to be accepted with thanks : acceptance of service, inlargeth acquaintance : acquaintance ingendreth familiartytie : and famylaritie, setteth al Follies abroach : So that, let other Married men take warnyng, by *Malipieroes* hard fortune : for, if their wyves love gadding, lyke faire *Felice*, & be inconstant, do want, or finde in their Husbands, discontentment : Twentie to one, they wil pawn their honours, to please their fancies (fo K 3).

There it was that Marino Giorgio met her and began immoderately to love her. Felice at first regarded him "but with an ordinary grace". This both fanned his passion into a raging flame, and threw him into such a violent despair that "he was in daunger to have consumed to Cinders, had not *Macrello*, the Physition of Love, undertaken his helth, who comforted him with many sweete wordes of hope". Advised by him in another longish speech, Marino in the end :

concluded to sende faire *Felice*, the Image of himselfe in Goulde, inameled blacke, his face meager and pale, and by a device, the blacke mantell throwne aside, for to appeare, the bared Carkasse of Death, with the intrayles consumed, and in the seate of his lyfe, to place *Felice*, attyred with Diamonds, Rubyes, Emrodes, and other precious Stones, looking uppon his smoking harte, wheruppon, was written these two breefes,

*Love onely gives mee health,
Not Medicine nor wealth.*

Together with it went the following letter :

Fayre Mistresse, if I enjoyed any health, I would wishe you parte : but what I do possesse, I acknowledge to be yours, and my selfe to be, but your steward. And for this service, because it is duty, I crave nothing, but leave my merrit wholly to your consideration. Yet, least my scylenge, shuld rob the glory of your pittie, and my death, reave you of a faythfull Servant : more of zeale, to do you long service : then of any desyre I have to live I heare present you my consumed

selfe, only kept alive, by the lyfe of fayre Felice, who sitteth crowned, in the Pallace of my heart : whych bleeding at her feete, showeth the meanes of my cure : which if you witsafe, I live : if not, you see my death. And thus, doubtfull betweene both, untill I kisse your sweete aunswere, I remayne,

Unto my latter Gaspe
Your faithfull

MARINO GEORGIO.

And not only is Felice's favourable answer also quoted, but moral reflections intervene, upon the corrupting power of gold, and upon the effects wrought by jealousy, before things are brought to a climax.

In the third part of Munday's *Zelauto*, relating the loves of Cornelia and Strabino, the stream of sentimental rhetoric runs with even greater impetuosity than in Whetstone's novel. Chapter I is mostly occupied by a soliloquy of Strabino, one of those soliloquies with the help of which young men, after being struck by one of Cupid's arrows, usually talk themselves out of deep despondency into faint hope. (pp. 106-107). All through the next two chapters, in the best-approved love-pamphlet manner, Cornelia edges Strabino on to an avowal of his love while pretending not to understand that she may be directly interested in the matter. She shows him the most friendly interest as long as he speaks darkly and as it were in enigmas, and destroys all his hopes of favourable success as soon as his talk becomes more pointed and more directly addressed to her own person. (108-120). Which clever sparring leaves poor Strabino in a state of despondency upon which the narrator cannot help commenting before he records the soliloquy uttered by Strabino in the solitude of his room :

"So sowre a sauce she had given *Strabino* : that the Sharpnesse turned his stomacke from minding any meate. Is it not straunge to see what a metamorphosis Looove maketh of a man? that he which earst might have bragged with the best : is now become to carefull for any company, he which earst walked the streetes with a gallant grace : nowe pulleth his bonet over his browes, that none may beholde his sodayne alteration? He which before lyved merily, faring with the finest, and delighting in the dayntiest : now scant eateth a good meales meate in a month. He commeth to his Chamber, throweth him selfe on his bed, incombred with so many cares, that it is unspeakable : at last unto him selfe talketh in this order.

O God, where are become the loftie lookes I used before I was a

Loover? Where are the curious countenaunces, the wayghtie woordes, the dayntie dealinges, the bolde behaviours, and the manly order of lyfe wherein I lyved before? Hath Looove so puissant a power to revert my sweetnesse into sorrowes, my myrth into mazednesse, my life into langor, and all my happinesse into a state so helplesse? O greefe without ende, O sorrowes without ceasing, O hellish tormentes that hath no conclusion. But yet am I the first that was framed to folly? Or I am the last that shall be lead by Looove? Hath not the Gods themselves beene subject to lyke mestive miseries? Did not *Jupiter* enter *Acrissius* tower, in the shape of a fayre swimming Swan, to deflowre faire *Danea*? *Apollo* persecuted *Daphne* to get his will of her : *Neptune* begatte *Nauplius* father to *Palamedes* of *Amimone*, daughter of *Danaeus* : *Mercurie* lay with *Lar* the beautifull *Nimphe*, and got of her two prety chyl dren called *Lares*. Likewise king *David* became convinced by the loove of *Bersaba* : *Salomon* the wise was subject to loove likewise. If then loove hath made the Gods to agree, the wise to be wilfull, the stoutest to stoupe : is it possyble for me poore *Strabino*, to resist a thing of such force? O *Cornelia*, lyttle doost thou esteeme the good wyll I beare thee, lyttle doost thou account of my constancie, lyttle doost thou regard my restlesse rage, & little doost thou deeme all my dollorous doubt es. Is thy heart so frozen, that the sunny beames of bounty may not make it to melt? Is thy minde so misbeleaving, that no faithfull fidelitie may seeme to reforme it? Is not dayly prooffe sufficient to trye my trustinesse? Is not the great good will I beare thee, able to cause thee to account well of me? To offer me crueltie for courtesie, thou dost me open injurie. Alas wretched wight that I am, whose miserie is more then mine? Whose dayes more dollorous, whose tyme more troublesome, whose life more loathsome, & whose state more yrksome, the day to me is nothing delightfull : the night more carefull, sleepe I can not, and waking, I never cease wayling.

Sometime I syt to conquere the cogitations, which weary my wittes : then againe am I driven into a more deepe desire. Sometime I scorne and laugh at Looove, thinking mine owne wyll a sufficient warrant ; but then in a moment aryveth manifolde miseries, so that neither waking nor sleeping, walking or sitting, can my sorrowfull selfe sustayne any rest. Why wast thou borne to abide such bitterness? Why hast thou lyved to see this trystfull tyme? Why hath not death desired his due : and the grave cutte of this mercilesse greefe? O Laberinth of intricate evylles, O maze of endlesse myseries, whome neither dutifull surrendring of my selfe may suffice : nor any vertuous action seeme to content you. Cease *Strabino*, give not thy selfe altogether to insolencie, nor frame not thy selfe wholly vanquished with follyes, time may turne thy troubles to tranquillitie, tyme may make thy foes thy freendes, and tyme may revert all thy paynes to pleasure. Impute not thy Lady altogether disloyall, for he that speedeth at the first : wooeth well, and he that hath no denyall : in my opinion is very fortunate (p. 121-123).

Having delivered himself of which sentiments Strabino is so overcome by his emotions that he cannot stir out of his room. There his friend Rodolfo endeavours to reason him out of his infatuation with the help of many historical examples illustrating all the evil that love has wrought in the world. Strabino answers by quoting the various opinions in praise of love of Ariosto, Chriſſippus, Cicero, "Zeno the Prince of the Stoikes" and various others (124-127). He has been so little convinced by his friend's reasoning that he pens a letter to Cornelia (128-129). Her perusal of it decides her to accept him for her servant. As a last example of Munday's rhetorical developments, we subjoin the speeches that pass between them upon this occasion : Cornelia first comes to Strabino in the garden after reading his letter and tells him :

Syr *Strabino*, your honest intent : I can not dislyke, nor you(r) well meaning minde can I reprove, but wishe I were woorthy so seemely a suter, & of abyllitie to gratifie your exceeding courtesie. I confesse your justnesse condempneth me of ungentlenesse, & your constancie reprooveth my great discourtesie, in that at your last departure : I dyd misuse my selfe with such blunt behaviour, but as the Sunne should not set on an anger conceived : so I hope my presumption by you was pardoned. If at the first I had grau(n)ted your loove : you might have alleadged my minde to be lyght, if at the first demaund I had made no deniall : you might have thought me very unsteadie, but now perceyving your ardent affection, the loyall loove and good wyll you beare me : I think I can not bestowe my selfe better, then on him whose fidelytie I have found so faithfull. (p. 135).

To which Strabino returns an answer in which joy causes him to play various tricks with alliteration :

I see (most mercifull Mistresse) that there is no disease so desperate : but helpe may be had, no sicknesse so sore : but Phisicke can foyle it, no wound so daungerous : but a sweete salve can recure it, no greefe so great : but patience bringes prosperitie, and no doubt so dreadfull : but tyme bringeth to full effect. See heere, he that was earst drowned in doubtes : now hoysed in happynesse, he that earst remayned in unmercifull myserie : nowe floteth in flourishing felycitie, he that earst was plunged in pittifull perplexitie : hath chaunged his state to perfect prosperitie. If *Caesar* heere would commit to me all his conquers, *Craesus* his puissant possessions, or the three Goddesses proffer unto me, as they dyd to *Paris* : None could so much please me, as you my second selfe, none could more deleyght me : then my Jewell so gentle, nor any more lyke me then my Lady so loyall, whose courteous constance : high *Jove* prosper in perpetuities.

Finally, William Warner also makes the lovers in *Pan his Syrinx* indulge in sentimental rhetoric of a similar description. When she began to feel an interest in Crisippus, Marpissa "with earnest & long endeavour sought to resist un(r)esistible love", but "at the length taking courage boldly to persist, she entreth with her-self into these Arguments", which however are less apt to fly away from the point than is often the case with Warner's contemporaries :

What reason hast thou (*Marpissa*) to contend with Love, that is both restlesse and unreasonable, adding so to fire fewell? or what standest thou upon these over-curious points, thy fathers displeasure, *Crisippus* his Pettigrée, or thine own Modestie : when the first may be pacified, or else by meanes avoided, for from whom we are derived by birth, to the(m) what can we more returne than reverent mindes : but to whome wee are driven by love, from the(m) what may we lesse with-hold than our own parso(n)s? yea *Marpissa* thou maist also revere(n)ce as a daughter, and love as a wife, and yet the later not prejudicial to the first. Secondly, and as concerning *Crisippus* his Pettigree, or Povertie, what is that to be respected : seeing thou doest delight in his parsonage, not descant of his parentage, whose vertue doth countervaille the want of Nobilitie : for better the man lacking wealth, then wealth lacking the man. Thirdly, what shouldest thou bee more nise than wise : that art therefore to be pardoned because in love, and who is ignorant that love respecteth no persons? for howsoever in all other things hapneth a superioritie, yet Nature that hath given to us al one Birth, one Breath, and one Death, in this one only thing remaineth uncorrupt, and is to all alike indifferent, making *Phoebus* a Sheapheard, and *Hercules* a Cot-queane : but admit the Discord, yet mariage maketh the Concord.

Mariage (qd. I) yea but all the craft in catching, and cunning in keeping : I marie *Marpissa*, this was sweetly spoken if faire words might win him, but *Crisippus* is no Pigeon to be taken with a beane, nor a child to be intised with a Ball, he may be perhaps a Lover, but not love for losse, and will more esteeme a dowrie that is bountifull, than a Kings Daughter though beautifull. Alas *Marpissa*, what dowrie canst thou bring him : Ah, Death, if he be taken : Banishment, if he escape : and Povertie, howsoever he speedeth? Wherefore if thou wilt love him, then leave to love him, but that (alas) will never be, except thou also leave to live. Nay, rather move the question, and afterwards dispose of thy selfe according to his answere : they are more than miserable, that seeke a sword to perish on the point, before a salve to apply to their paine : the vexed parson that in most anguish, crieth out to be delivered of greefe, the same would not with the least violence, be then dispatched of life : speake *Marpissa* now, or else never speede, sue to him for love, that perhaps would, but feares to attempt thee in the like : thou shalt, no doubt, obtaine, he is neither

discurteous, nor timerous, & so consta(n)t a Partner shall the rather make him venterous, of the perill. (Ch. 22, f^o K 1).

The next chapter is taken up with a relation of the talk through which Marpissa, after sounding the dispositions of Crisippus, at last opens her heart to him in these forcible terms :

But *Crisippus*, although sile(n)ce (may you perhaps think) would be more seemely in a Maiden, yet because I am urged by love violently, by your demaunde willingly, and by posting occasion of necessitie, to direct you as it were by the hand to my heart, I will not in danger be daintie : but reveale to you the man, saide to have subdued my liberty. What should I more say? nay what might I with modesty lesse say, or at the least, suffer you to aime before I name? the(n) y^t (here teares drowning her words, gave a short pause to this y^t foloweth (thy selfe) my deare *Crisippus* art that one who(m) I long time have loved, do love, & wil love. (Ch. 23, f^{os} K 3-4).

To this Crisippus is moved by his "ignorance in love" to return a timorous answer, the gist of which he thus sums up in the concluding paragraph :

Seeing therfore (Madam) that such love would be so much losse to you, such danger to me, & so prejudiciall to us both, let it suffise, that I humble even the knees of mine heart, to acknowledge your so rare bountie, and vouchsafe the same to impetrate pardo(n), for denial of so unprofitable proceedings. (Ch. 24, f^o L 1).

But soon the words spoken by Marpissa work upon him and he becomes passionately in love. The state of his mind at this juncture is described as follows :

He knoweth not sweete yongling, what love meaneth, & yet he loveth, he would not love, and yet could not but love, yea and that so fervently, that having acquainted himselfe but a small time with the Copesmate of love, Solitarines, he might have ben used in a Co(n)sistorie of lovers in place of an Anothomie : being so much y^e more wretched, by how much himself was y^e Author of his own wretchednes, in forslowing goulden Oportunity, the smiling handmaide of Fortune (Ch. 25, f^o L 1, verso).

Fortunately for him, Marpissa sends him a letter "purporting many loving Arguments, enterlaced also with some desperate conclusions". His answer is this time in accordance with the lady's wishes :

So often do I accuse my selfe of cowardise (most worthy Lady) as

the hardines of the silly Snaile meeteth my remembrance, whose courage is such, that the boulde worme is seene, dexterously to clime the tops of the most loftiest Towers, when (to say troth) I through Timeritie have baulked the proffered bountie of you : a Lady then whom liveth not any more lovely : in excuse wherof, I infer the cause not to be any mislike of the matter, but a mistrust of the maner, no defect of willingnes, but my too too unworthynes, no light accepta(n)ce of your so rare beautie, but the unlikelihood of so strang bounty, wherefore seeing that feare only hath bene my fault, I hope your curtious nature (sweete Lady) will make a favorable construction of my childish errour, for the which I have alredy performed such extreme penna(n)ce, that had I not conceived hope of life by your writing to day, death no doubt had taken away both hope & life before to morrow.

For my passed simplicities I aske pardon, & of my following fidelities I crave triall, forgive the one, & assie in the other : to whatsoever affaires, you shal imploy my service, to that only office shal I applye al duety : & what you henceforth account but an errour, that same shall I conclude an heresie : only live (*Marpissa*) to continue your love, or *Crisippus* dieth to end his langour. (Ch. 25, f^{os} L 1 and 2).

Having brought things to this pass, Warner immediately after concludes the episode with the following brief statement :

From this day forwardes, they enjoyed the benefit of many amorous meetinges, and in conclusion, of their unsuspected familiarities proceeded a secret marriage. (f^o L 2).

Quite plainly, he also had been for the nonce chiefly interested in the rhetorical developments made possible by the episode.

Of course the same technique is also characteristic of the work of those writers who courted success by providing their readers with as much as possible the same fare as Lyly had offered to them.

First in the field among them was a little known author of the name of Austen Saker. His *Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie. Very pleasant for young Gentlemen to peruse, and passing profitable for them to prosecute. Wherein is contained the discommodities that insue, by following the lust of a mans will, in youth : and the goodnesse he after gayneth, being beaten with his owne rod, and pricked with the peevishnesse of his owne conscience, in age. Written by Austen Saker, of New Inne*, was entered in the Registers of the Company of Stationers on March, 8, 1580¹, and in the same year "imprinted

1. Arber's *Transcript*, II, 366. Of this book, which has been hitherto completely neglected by the historians of the Elizabethan novel, two copies only are on record. I have used that in the Bodleian Library.

at London by Richard Jhones". It was immediately followed by *Narbonus. The seconde parte, of the Lust of Libertie. Wherin is conteyned, the hap of Narbonus, beeing a Souldioure : his returne out of spayne, and the successe of his love betweene him and Fidelia. And lastly, his life at the Emperoures Court, with other actions which happened to his freend Phemocles. By the same Authour. A. S. Imprinted at London...for Richard Jhones. 1580.* In sentences more trickily than carefully balanced, the hero is at the beginning of the first part described as follows :

There dwelt neare the Cittie of *Vienna*, a Gentleman, named *Narbonus* : of personage beautiful, and in behaviour bountiful : in substance, not superiour to any : yet in wit, inferiour to many : in goodnes, gratefull : and to his power, beneficiall : He had left him, by the death of his father, some small possessions, & a litle lande to maintain his calling : wherwith, had hee bene so wisely disposed, as hee was wantonly delighted, hee might have bragged with the best, and accompanied the greatest : and had his wit bene so well employed, as his will was evely occupied, hee had needed no counsailer for his commodity, nor any schoolemaister for his humaritic : But as he was younge, so was he wilde : and as he was wealthy, so was hee disposed pleasantly : as hee was ritche, so was hee ryotous ; and yet as hee was wanton, so was hee curteous.

And so for two more pages full of balancing or antithetical common-places, of allusions to Paul, Samuel, Caesar, the "River Nilus" that "ingendreth the foule Crocadile, and castes up the precious perles", the "filthy Toade" that "hath a faire stone in hir heade", the bee, the nettle, the hemlock, the poppy and their contrary properties, all to say that *Narbonus* led a life of idleness and dissipation (pp. 1-4). The imitation of Lyly's style is unmistakable from the outset. Doubtless it was a similar process of imitation that made the two parts of this young man's history a moral treatise rather than an actual novel.

The story, such as it is, is soon told. Seeing that he wastes his time at *Veinna*, the uncle of *Narbonus* sends him to *Wittenberg* to study law. To no purpose : *Narbonus* haunts the pot-house much more than the lecture-room, and his uncle recalls him. Back in *Vienna*, the young man forms a deep friendship with *Phemocles*. But the latter's father sends him to *Naples*, to study the Italian language, so suddenly that he cannot even take leave of his friend. Now it is that *Narbonus* meets the fair *Fidelia*. His suit prospers,

and the lady departs into the country preparatory to marrying him secretly. Before the appointed day, however, Narbonus is pressed into an army so hurriedly raised and dispatched into Spain that he can only write Fidelia a sorrowful letter of farewell. Phemocles soon after returns to Vienna only to find that Narbonus is gone. At the end of the first part, he has obtained his father's consent to his going into Spain, where he hopes to join his friend.

A vain hope. Having undergone in the army great miseries the description of which takes up a great many pages, Narbonus gets his discharge on account of ill-health. He hastens back, anxious to join his beloved Fidelia. But she has been angered by what she calls his desertion of her, and gives him a peremptory dismissal. He goes away again, this time to serve at the Emperor's court, and once more Phemocles returns to Vienna too late to meet him. Lying there in idleness, this Phemocles falls in love with an unknown lady. But he learns that she is already married, and thereupon decides to take service abroad with the "Palsegrave of the Rheine". The two friends finally come back to Vienna at about the same time. They are the guests of honour at a dinner at the end of which they discuss the respective merits of Spain and Germany, and the book closes with a letter from Narbonus to his former associates at the Emperor's court announcing that : "As I used the Court for a time, so meane I now to use my Bookes for ever".

This rather pointless and ramshackle story, if it deserves such a name, was plainly invented chiefly in order to supply pretexts for moral disquisitions. These, which often consist of little more than a string of common-places, are both numerous and long-drawn-out. Narbonus and his uncle first debate upon the merits and demerits of the professions of a merchant, a student and a traveller (I, 4-16), and the moral note is again mainly in evidence in the description of the dissipated life led by the young man at Wittenberg (I, 20-25), in the reproachful letter that his uncle sends him, in the account of the emotions that its perusal raises in Narbonus, and in the relation of his return to Vienna, where he throws himself down at his benefactor's feet and obtains his pardon (I, 26-37). This strain is continued when Narbonus and Phemocles pledge their friendship to each other in two long speeches, which the author follows up with two pages of common-places upon the

instability of human things so as to prepare the reader for the impending destruction of their happiness (I, 39-47). This unfortunate development comes when the father of Phemocles announces to him his decision to send him to Naples, at the same time describing to him the dangers that will assail him in Italy and giving him, as to the best means of escaping them, abundant advice to which Phemocles returns a plentiful and dutiful answer (I, 48-55). If moralization is in abeyance while Narbonus is courting Fidelia, it is resumed when Phemocles, at his return from Naples, describes what life he led there and, with the help of more speeches, obtains his father's leave to go to Spain (I, 125-146). All this in the first part. In the second there will come, among other things, a lengthy account, embellished with various soliloquies, of the physical and moral sufferings undergone by Narbonus in his soldiering life, with which his easy, elegant life at the Emperor's court will later furnish the occasion for many a rhetorical contrast (II, 2-45 and 77-94); a long invective against women delivered by Narbonus at the time of his dismissal by Fidelia (II, 51-61); the debate between Narbonus and Phemocles upon the respective merits of Germany and Spain (II, 95-106); and finally, when Narbonus announces his decision henceforth to devote himself to his books, a comparison, some fifteen pages long, of the life of a courtier with that of a scholar (II, 107-123). In this second part especially all pretence at tale-telling has been almost completely abandoned, for it cannot be said that any interest of the kind usually evoked by fiction attaches to the reunion of Phemocles and Narbonus. At least the author makes nothing of it. Nor does he make anything of Phemocles' passing infatuation for an unknown lady. His mind was bent upon other things, and it rather looks as if he had got rid of Fidelia as early as possible in order to be left free to develop his moralizing disquisitions. Her story it is true takes up considerably more room in the first part. But even there it is of the flimsiest, nothing but an account of how the two young people fell in love with each other and were parted before they could celebrate their intended secret marriage. If it occupies so many pages, it is, again, because it is padded out by means of the sentimental rhetoric common to the novels out of Bandello, to Pettie and to Lyly.

Narbonus meets Fidelia at a dinner to which he has been bidden with his uncle. He is so struck with her beauty that he can scarcely eat a morsel. During the dance that follows, he declares his

passion to her in a series of short, carefully graded speeches and, having at last relieved his heart of its burden, falls down in a swoon. Whereupon his uncle takes him home while the company, just as it does in *Euphues* after the hero's first meeting of Lucilla, breaks up in some confusion (I, 58-66). The next day Narbonus in his room utters a soliloquy. He has had no answer from Fidelia to his request, and by turns gives way to despair, reasons himself into hoping again, and finally resolves to go on with his suit (I, 67-73). Meanwhile Fidelia was no less agitated, and she is likewise in her room giving vent to the trouble of her heart in a soliloquy. Her first impulse is to refuse the love proffered by Narbonus, and she pens him a letter of denial. But it does not satisfy her, and she tears it up. She is no better pleased with a second attempt, a more courteous answer this time. Nor with a third, in which, she endeavours to strike a balance between the curtness of her first draft and the gracefulness of her second. Seeing that nothing of what she writes can content her, she feels greatly perturbed, till she resolves to let her letter alone for that time, and to be better advised before she writes : which imagination takes so good effect that she goes to dinner better contented, than when she arose in the morning (I, 73-82). There things rest for the nonce. But a deep melancholy preys upon love-lorn Narbonus, who is still ignorant of how Fidelia will receive the declaration of his love, till he persuades his uncle (two more speeches) to return her father's invitation (I, 83-88). After this second dinner he finds an opportunity for once more opening his heart to her, and she answers him in these choice terms : "Know thou therefore *Narbonus*, that *Fidelia* is vowed thy faithfull feere, and thou the only Saint that I will serve, and the barking of fearefull *Cerberus* in Hell, or the gaping of that Dragon of *Hesperia*, shall never cause me forsake thee, or ever force me flie from thee". But at the same time she asks him : "As I have yeilded thee my life, & as thou lovest me, use secrecie, and hold thy hande on thy mouth, til such time as our joyes may be obtained at y^e full, & our mariage rites celebrated to the depth of our desires" (I, 89-91). After which they join the rest of the company and hear some one relate the strange story of Marcellus de Hespado, that is not without some likeness, but with various other embellishments, to that of Cephalus, or at least to that part of it in which he went away from his wife through jealousy of her and at his return attempted to seduce her in the disguise

of a stranger¹. It is during the dance that follows that Narbonus and Fidelia lay their plot for a secret marriage in the country.

This is enough to show that in the handling of a love-story Saker's technique is not essentially different from that of his predecessors, over whom he goes one better in one respect, however, when giving in succession three rough drafts of a letter that finally is never dispatched at all. The following extracts from the first soliloquy of Narbonus will make the resemblance quite clear, and at the same time give an idea of the abundance of Saker's rhetorical developments :

Behold heere (Narbonus exclaims) the extremitie of love without the consent of lust : I crave but hir seemely sight, and aske but hir bare companie to comfort these my pernicious perils, and releve these tossing torments : hir help would make me hole, and hir stay would make me strong : why then should I not enjoy hir ? bycause honestly I love hir : for in loving hir, I leese my libertie, and in forgoing my libertie, I may happilie gaine my delight, and in obeyning my desire, I care not the(n) how speedely I gaine my grave : if in dying I yeeld my last breath in hir bosome, who shall be more fortunate than my selfe ? if in lyving I enjoy not hir company, whose death shall be more speedelie ? like to the budding blossome bitten with the frost, so do I fade : or as the Apple eaten inwardly with the worme, and never appeareth outwardly, till rotting, it droppe from the tree, or consumed, fall to the earth : or as the old tree consumed, and hollow within, never appeareth in the wind till it fal to the earth, or consume as it standeth : so shall I fade, so shall I fall : so shall I droupe, so shall I die : so shall I rotte, so shall I be bereaved of the rarest Jewell that *Europe* breedeth. Alas, are these the rewards of love ? and the recompences of my good meaning, to hazard my life, and to die unwounded : but doe thy eyes pierce worse than arrowes ? and thy sight infect like the *Basalike* ? If one enemy hurt another, he either seeketh a present salve, or giveth him his speedie death. If a Dogge be bitten by another of his kind, he licketh himself whole againe. If the fleeting fishe be wounded, he healeth himselfe in the running River. But doth not the lamenting Deere, the arrow sticking in his side, repaire to some thicke groave, or busshie lawne, where he moorneth till he die, & walketh himselfe, till senselesse he fall dead to the earth ? Alas, is not my case such, and my wound in like order ? my carefull Chamber yeelds me small comfort, and what reape I heere, but the

1. I, 91-100. A fresh complication intervenes when the lady, making a show of readiness to yield, has her place taken by her maid, who nevertheless does not grant anything to the would-be seducer. There is, also, a story of a stolen bag of money that is recovered as a result of an extraordinary chain of coincidences.

fruites of infelicitie? but thou Novice, did she give thee this gleeking gall? nay, was it not thy owne eyes? why then blamest thou hir whose faith is thy felicitie? whose countenance thy comfort? whose loving lookes the prolonger of thy life? whose amiable grace the greatnesse of thy goodnesse? and whose sweete words the very restoritie of thy mutabilitie? complaine not then on hir, who was not the causer of thy maladie, for had not thy owne eyes bin the instruments, she had not procured thee : and hadst thou not looked, thy love had bin little : and had not thy love bin so great, thou hadst bin loose at libertie, wherè now thou art tied to her courtesie, and bounde to hir beautie. And what if thou be so tied, repentest thou thy bargaine? or art thou sorie for thy choice? no, no, the faire Rose hath a sweete smell : the Vermilion violet a most pleasant sent...

and so on to conclude that, as Fidelia is so beautiful, there can be in her neither mistrust, deceit, dishonesty, envy, maliciousness, or wickedness. Which helps him finally to master his hesitations in these terms :

The assault is already given, and the breach is begonne, yet have I not looked the enimie in the face, or know how I shall speede : yes, I have seene him that hurt me, and scared on the partie that wounded me, yet know I not whether he will bandee or yeeld : if he fight mine is the foile : if I bee overcome, shall I turne home like a coward, or be driven backe like a dastard? no trust me, yet will I rather choose a honourable death, than a reprochful life : rather a faire Hearce, tha(n) a defiled body, and sooner a glorious grave, than a miserable estate : thou hast indeede begun blessedly, and thy inception not to be disliked, God graunt thou persevere as happily, & the end not to be detested : but what did thy dying in hir hand betoken, and thy fainting in such order presage? was it not a sure signe thou shouldest leese thy life for hir sake? and seeke hir Soule as *Aeneas* sought *Dido* in Hell : but she fled from him, and he never recovered hir sight againe : but if hir soule flie from me, and departe my sight, I will never cease but seeke hir, and never leave, till I find hir : thou divinest like a Doctour, God grant thy imaginatio(n) prove thee not a Sophister : thou standest heere upon law points, and drivest doubts unlooked for, leaving the principall to feede thy fancie : the more speedely thou speakest, the more hastelie thou shalt be answered : and the sooner thou doest sollicite thy suite, the sooner shalt thou receive judgement. Well then *Narbonus*, this device shall breede thy delight, and to put this in practise, will yeeld thee thy contentation : let then Paper bee thy messenger and declare thy minde, and Inke thy Secretary to devise thy meaning : so mayst thou manifest the inward motions of thy minde, & make it knowen how dearely thou lovest her, which to lookè on thy selfe, thou canst not but blushe, and holde downe thy head at her wise answers (I, 69-73).

Brian Melbancke built his *Philotimus*. *The Warre betwixt Nature and Fortune* upon the same general pattern. He was at the time of its publication, as we learn from the title-page, a "Student in Graies Inne". He had before that been at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he had graduated B. A. in 1579-1580. His only novel, *Philotimus* was not entered in the Registers of the Company of Stationers. But it has the date of 1583 in the imprint, and that of November 28 at the bottom of the Epistle Dedicatory to the Earl of Arundell¹. It opens with Periander bewailing the evil days upon which he is fallen. After addressing him a comforting speech full of eloquence and wisdom, Pandolpho relates to him the story of *Philotimus* (pp. 1-8).

This *Philotimus* was the son of the governor of Mantua, Cleocritus, and of his wife Castibula. Nature had showered upon him all the graces of body and mind which it is in her power to bestow, and when he reached the age of sixteen his father asked him which of the three roads open to young men he wished to follow, that of Pallas, that of Juno or that of Venus. He pictured to him at great length the advantages and perils of each. The son was no less verbose in justifying his resolve to be a follower of Pallas, and it was decided that he should the next day leave for the University (pp. 9-44).

Before setting out, however, he rushes to his beloved Aurelia. Informed of his impending departure, she is somewhat sullen at the first. But the sincerity and fervour of his passion shine forth even through his long-winded protestations, and she on her part loves him so dearly that not only is the cloud soon dispelled, but she gives him a greater earnest of her devotion than she had yet ever done by allowing him to spend the whole night in her company (pp. 45-57).

Of course there is the next morning a long leave-taking scene in which another heavy tax is laid upon the resources of sentimental rhetoric (pp. 57-60). And now we see *Philotimus* trudging his way to the University in the company of young Aemilius. To while away the time, a regular debate is organised upon the road, with the servants as determiners, upon the question "whether it were better to take paines in youthe afterward to enjoye pleasure, or firste to revell him in the lease of libertye, and in Age bee pinchte

1. Upon this novel see Hyder E. Rollins, *Notes on Brian Melbancke's Philotimus*.

for his former Sinnes". This over, the tutor of the two young men advises them as to what line of conduct they must follow at the University. Philotimus will put this excellent advice into practice most exactly, and several pages give a description of the perfect student in his person (pp. 61-91).

But an epidemic of the plague that breaks out at Mantua lays in the grave all but one of his eleven sisters and brothers, and his parents call him back to their side. Strangely enough in such circumstances, the after-dinner talk on the evening of his return resolves itself into a formal debate : "A contention betwixt Flattery & Slaunder, whether is the worse" (pp. 92-98).

Early in life, Philotimus has thus been stricken by adversity. Greater misfortunes are in store for him. For now it is that his mother goes through the same adventures as the heroine of Pettie's tale of Sinorix and Camma and, feigning a willingness to marry Telamon, both punishes him for the murder of Cleocritus and sacrifices herself to her conjugal duty by making him partake with her of a poisoned cup (pp. 99-117). This indeed leaves Philotimus and his only surviving sister Fulvia possessed of great riches, and while Fulvia marries Aemilius, he himself hastens to join Aurelia, who by this time has become a maid-of-honour to the Duchess of Venice. He at first enjoys great happiness in her company. But a time comes when through his great liberality in feasting her he has wasted all his substance, and she deserts him for a better provided admirer, Cornelius. In vain does he expostulate with her in many a letter, she returns him none but uncourteous answers, and finally dismisses him. He breathes out his sorrow in a despairing piece of verse. But he does not continue long in this mood : soon we see him penning, in order to comfort himself, several pages of philosophical reflections (pp. 118-155).

Meanwhile Cornelius is exposed to the reproaches of Laida, who had, so we are told, "yeelded to be his mate in everie thing, I except not bed pleasure", and whom he had deserted for Aurelia. She is not more successful with him, however, than Philotimus with Aurelia (pp. 156-161).

From the letters between Cornelius and Laida the narrative turns again to Philotimus. His philosophical essay-writing has so little succeeded in restoring his equanimity that he is now in a soliloquy denouncing the treacherousness of his former friends and considering whether he had better commit suicide or send a chal-

lenge to Cornelius. Composing himself, he decides upon asking Aemilius to help him in his distress. But this Aemilius refuses to do in a letter as closely packed with advice as it is devoid of true sympathy (pp. 162-171). A similar attempt with another friend, Frogazus, meets with no better success (pp. 172-175). Seeing "no truth neither in lover, nor brother, nor frende, devided as it were into choller and grief", Philotimus relieves his feelings by writing a "pamphlet", with the motto *Mihi crede, credendum nemini*, upon the egotism and treachery of men and the instability of Fortune (pp. 176-190). And he sends his proposed challenge to Cornelius.

But Cornelius refuses to fight him, and our hero finds himself in a somewhat ridiculous predicament. He is helped out of it by Archaretos, whom he had disdained at the time of his prosperity. Archaretos replenishes his purse, but on the condition that he shall cease to hanker after Aurelia and immediately leave the country (pp. 191-204). Philotimus has no sooner set out for Greece, however, than his travelling companions rob him of all he has. He next falls in with a company of highwaymen whose chief invites him to become one of their number. Not only does he stoutly refuse, but he pictures to them in an eloquent oration the immorality of their way of life (pp. 205-208). And in "a valley thicke with Pineapple & Cipresse trees", he renders thanks to his Creator that He should have given him the strength to resist this temptation, at the same time mingling his grateful words with many an expression of sorrow at his misfortune (pp. 209-210). Now all this is overheard by Laurus, an aged shepherd who has retired into the country after a stormy youth embittered by many deceptions encountered in the pursuit of love, and there has found peace and content. Laurus invites Philotimus to share his life. Philotimus answers that he had rather take service with some prince. Well, Laurus says, the prince of the neighbouring country is due to hunt in these parts the next day. He is so virtuous that he can only be compared, even if it be but "in the Positive degree of the Superlative", with Queen Elizabeth of England, whose praise Melbancke in his turn sings at this juncture in the most highly-wrought terms of flattery (pp. 211-221). Let Philotimus offer his services to this worthy ruler. So he does the next day, and his offer is graciously accepted (pp. 222-224).

At this point, remarking that it is growing late, Pandolpho postpones to some other occasion the rest of the story. It does

not appear that this sequel was ever written. Periander had to remain content with the moral thus drawn by his friend : "Thou maiest learne by *Philotimus*, that the best wittes and minds are soonest liable and leviabie to misfortunes : And therefore hereafter thou must not be so streight in the instep, to disdaine that thou art casually afflicted. Here also art thou taught by the example of *Philotimus*, rather to redresse thy calamities by diligence, then to encrease them with bootles wayling" (p. 225).

Profr. Hyder E. Rollins has justly remarked that "this first instalment has a better and a more interesting plot than any of Lyly's novels" ¹. Yet the influence of Lyly upon Melbancke is plainly written throughout the book. Not perhaps upon his style, though he also multiplies proverbial sayings and allusions to what has been aptly called unnatural natural history. For he writes less clearly than Lyly, failing to reproduce the neatness attained by the latter in the balancing of his parallel or antithetical statements, and further adding to his obscurity by his fondness for archaic terms or outlandish new coinings ². But his general conception of what a novel ought to be is plainly derived from the creator of *Euphues*. Here are also moralizing debates, disquisitions, and speeches, so abundant as often to choke the narrative. And side by side with them here is also in the treatment of the love-intrigues, as with Lyly, the sentimental rhetoric characteristic of the English novels out of Bandello. The copious speeches and letters that pass between *Philotimus* and *Aurelia* or between *Cornelius* and *Laida* have been mentioned already. There are others in the same vein in the episode that involves *Castibula*, her husband *Cleocritus* and her treacherous suitor *Telamon* in a tragic death. Before breathing her last, and while the poison she has taken is working in her, *Castibula* in a long impassioned soliloquy asks the supreme Lord of all to forgive her for the double murder she has committed upon *Telamon* and upon herself (p. 116). At another stage the speeches in which *Telamon* had offered her his love, she had rejected his suit, and he had undertaken to give her

1. *Loc. cit.*, p. 44.

2. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 41. Profr Rollins has also shown that "the most remarkable feature of Melbancke's book is its astonishing borrowings from poems, all printed in the form of prose and helping to carry forward the narrative" (pp. 49 ff.). His demonstration upon this head has been supplemented by M. P. Tilley, *Further borrowings from poems in Philotimus*.

an earnest of the sincerity of his passion by desisting from his importunities, had also run into many pages. Though its length itself is characteristic, Castibula's answer to Telamon's declaration of his love is really too long for quotation. The following extracts seem particularly significant. Castibula first expresses her displeasure at the suit of Telamon :

Thou lookest I should thank the for thy lawlesse love, & I looke thou shouldest abate it bycause I am thanckles. *Thisbe* a *Graecia(n)* mayde, beloved of *Thermutes* an *Aegyptian* Thiefe, wrote in a letter to a frend of hers, that she had rather be hated of the civill *Graecian*, then be beloved of the rude *Barbarian* : and without offence be it spoken (but under no correction) I had rather wish the my capitall foeman, then after this sort to have the my frend.

After some more words to the same effect, she proclaims her resolve to keep faithful to her husband :

Thy suite a Gods name, spiced with the gleames of thy stailles love muste mitigate y^e odiousnes of thy request. Nay *Telamo(n)*, the river *Hyphenis* descending downe from *Scithia*, is a water wholesome & savourie, the whiche after the entraunce of a little salt springe, waxeth so salt and brackishe, that none can drinke of it. Much vertue is blemished with a small spot of vice. I have read in *Vitruvius* of the river *Chimera*, whose water in taste is very delectable, but parting into two sundrye troughes & channels, the one continueth swete, the other convertes into bitterness : no otherwise my husband & I, as long as we live in wedlock bandes, shal have comfort of our frendes, and credit in our countrie, but if I dissever this swete societie, he shall kepe his honour directed with honestie, and I kindle reproche detected of disloyaltie.

Indeed Mariners commonly sayle by night when other sleepe, for that the winds that come then from the earth, doe calmly fill their sailes : and thou thinkest perhaps that I have now opportunitie, when my Lord is secured and unadvised of my fetch. My Lord & spouse hath the vertue of a *Diamond*, whiche is of power to trie chastitie. But that shall not neede *Telamon*, for sooner shal my soule to weightles aire ywaste, and time untwine his date, and azure heave(n)s stande still, ere I recule one inch from thee (O dearest *Cleocritus*) I dare compare with the Ladye *Sulpitia*, whose husband *Lentulus Crustellio* being banished into *Sicilie* of the *Romaine Triumveri*, & she kepte diligentlie of her mother that shee should not follow, yet that her faith to her husband might not bee violated, tooke upon her a servantes apparell, & with two men & two women stole after him from her mother.

Never shall it be said, but there is some Ladye in *Italie*, which will

be as quirie (quisie?) in wedlock rites, as y^e insulans of *Pteleon*, who in this point are accou(n)ted most religious. If I should co(m)mit this abhominatio(n), not to be spoken of, I were more cruel the(n) y^e widowes of *Lemnos*, which killed all their husbands, & manye degrees worse then y^e doughters of *Danaus*, which al (save *Hipermestra*, that spared *Lincius*) the first night they lay with their new bridegroomes, bereaved them of life. I rather would to shield mine honour, & prevent his shame, like valiaunt *Penthisilia*, which with her pollax stily stood in *Troies* defence, so venter life & limme.

Indeed, supposing that she were willing to yield, it were impossible to keep the secret from Cleocritus, and avoid the punishment that such misdemeanour would deserve. Having said which she concludes with the following advice to her admirer, coupled with fresh expressions of her resolve not to yield to his entreaties, and of her detestation of them :

Restrayne therefore these salvaged cogitations, and sith thou fawnest frendship on my Lorde and husband (and not unworthylye) shoue such fidelytye in thy demeanour, as sometime one *Alexander* did to his frende : who lyinge in naked bed with his frends wife, and by his frends graunt, laide a naked sworde betwyxte them to keepe them asunder.....

If thou canst bringe under thy gaddinge appetits, and submite them to the frendshippe y^a owest my husbände, *Cariclia* was not halfe so glad, that her *Theagenes* overcame *Ormenes* in the race at *Pithiaes* games, as I will rejoyce that my husbandes deserts, hathe daunted the force of thy illegitymate desyres, and as the same *Cariclia*, rather purposed to receive that which is destinied to deathe, then by havinge *Alcamenes* deceive *Theagenes*, so shall these handes firste pull out this tonge, or a braundishe blade first pearce this harte, ere I soyle my name with so foule a consente.

The birde *Charadrius*, if one that hath the kinges evill see her, healeth him that is so diseased, but dieth thereof herselfe : and I by this remedy rescuing thee from sorrow, shal exasperate my bane with ten thousand griefs. If my beauty which y^a saist is glorious, brede these bickeringes to my greate annoy (as *Dionisius* and *Milesius* men famous in the liberall artes, bycause manye provoked by great report frequented their scholes to learne, for envie were banished by the Emperour, when he had no occasion to kill them) then do I wishe that either my beautye had beene lesse, and my fortune more, or else that my fortune be agreable to my beauty. It was death among the *Delphians* to steale away a maide, O then what death deservest thou, so disloyall a wife?

Refraine my company for the time, for it may be that often presence settis a^o tether to the flight of thy affection, or marrye some gentlewoman convenient to thy callinge, for so thou shalt not maculate the

heroicall vertue continency, and maiste by the suavitie of her societie, forget other formes that are not for you, or if both these mislike your humour, carrie the dust about thee, wherein a mule sweating hath wallowed, or annoint thy selfe with the stale of a mule, and this thy love will turne to hate. Follow any of these pscriptis above prefixed, and if thou diest for love, though I could not love thee whe(n) thou wast alive, I will honour thee being dead..... (pp. 102-105).

The year 1583 also witnessed the publication of *Mamillia. A Mirrour or looking-glasse for the Ladies of Englande. Wherein is deciphered, howe Gentlemen under the perfect substaunce of pure love, are oft inveigled with the shadowe of lewde luste : and their firme faith, brought asleepe by fading fancie : until wit joyned with wisdom, doth awake it by the helpe of reason. By Robert Greene Graduate in Cambridge. Imprinted at London for Thomas Woodcocke. 1583.* This is the earliest edition on record, but it may not be the first, for "Manilia. A lookinge Glasse for y^e ladies of England", was entered in the Registers of the Company of Stationers on October 3, 1580¹. Like Melbancke, the author graduated B. A. from St John's College, Cambridge, in 1579-80. He later left this college for Clare Hall, taking there his degree of Master of Arts in the summer of 1583. Even if the printing of his first novel was delayed till this same year, the mention "Graduate in Cambridge" upon the title-page points to publication in the first half of it, before he had proceeded M. A. By the time when this latter degree was conferred upon him, he was ready with a sequel, entitled in the only edition that has been preserved *Mamillia : The second part of the triumph of Pallas : Wherein with perpetual fame the constancie of Gentlewomen is canonised, and the unjust blasphemies of womens supposed ficklenesse (breathed out by diverse injurious persons) by manifest examples clearely infringed. By Robert Greene Maister of Arts, in Cambridge.* The date of this edition is 1593. But "a booke entitled Mamilia, The seconde parte of the tryumphe of Pallas" was entered to the publisher, William Ponsonby, on september 6, 1583². It had been written by Greene at Cambridge, the Epistle dedicatory being dated "From my Studie in Clarehall the vij. of Julie".

The story is that of the loves of Pharicles and of Mamillia, whose father Francesco Gonzaga was the "chief magistrate" of the city

1. Arber's *Transcript*, II, 378.

2. Arber's *Transcript*, II, 428.

of Padua. Reduced to its barest outline, it runs somewhat as follows. Introduced as "a youth of wonderful witte, and no lesse wealth, whome both nature and experience had taught the old proverbe, as perfect as his *Pater noster*, he that cannot dissemble, cannot lyve"¹, Pharicles has no sooner coaxed a favourable acceptance of his suit out of Mamillia than he meets her cousin Publia and makes her an offer of his love. Her answer, delivered in writing, is couched in such "frumpish terms" that he stops in his perusal of it when only half-way through, goes to Mamillia, from whom he has too long absented himself, solemnly pledges his troth to her, and is accepted by her father for his future son-in-law. Coming back to his room, however, he takes up again Publia's letter, finds that it ended much more encouragingly than it began, and thereupon writes back to vow eternal love to her. When she in her turn accepts him for her servant, he begins to reflect upon what he has been doing and, despairing of ever putting straight the tangled skein in which he has emmeshed himself, seeks safety in flight and secretly passes into Sicilia.

The second part of *Mamillia* is taken up with a record of his adventures in the capital city of this country, perhaps altered from Syracuse into "Saragossa" by nothing more than a printer's error. The upshot of them is that he is denounced as a foreign spy by a low courtesan, Clarynda, whose advances he has curtly rejected and, being brought to his trial, is sentenced to die at the end of forty days.

In the meantime both Mamillia and Publia had shown themselves as true as gold. Publia had renounced all sort of claim to the young man as soon as she had been informed that her cousin had a previous one upon his affections. But she was incapable of transferring her love to another. Far from doing so, she not only, rejected several suitors, but after her father's death entered a religious house, "where shee led her life as a chaste and famous virgin, and at her death dying without issue, (for all his treacherie) she bequeathed her possessions to her best beloved *Pharicles*" (pp. 172-73). As for Mamillia, she had decided to keep faithful to Pharicles even after being apprised of his double dealing. And it was reserved for her to give active earnest of her devotion. A merchant informs her of the danger into which Pharicles has fallen

1. *Works*, ed. by A. B. Grosart, II, 19.

at "Saragossa". By this time her father also had died, after stipulating in his last will and testament that she should forfeit all the goods she had inherited from him if ever she married Pharicles. But in her the call of love is the stronger. She rushes to "Saragossa", where skilful management brings into her hands the letters that have passed between Pharicles and Clarynda. Disguised as a judge, she produces these in open court upon the day appointed for her faithless lover's execution, and thereby obtains a reprieve¹. Overwhelmed with joy and gratitude, Pharicles begs her to forgive all his "forepassed follies" and once more accept of him as her "bondslave for ever at command", and they return together to Padua, "where the Senators hearing of the straunge adventures which *Pharicles* had passed, and perceiving the incomparable constancie of *Mamillia*, they were not onely content that they two should marrie together, but also, contrarie to her fathers last will & testament, let her peaceably enjoy all his landes and possessions" (p. 248).

When the gist of it is thus indicated in a rapid summary, this novel does not seem to have much in common with those of Lyly. It is as optimistic in its view of the feminine character as the *Anatomy of Wyt* was pessimistic. While *Euphues and his England* also showed worthy women and ended happily, the incidents through which this happy ending is reached in the present instance are of a romantic complexion such as was never borne by any of those which Lyly related. And yet there cannot be the least doubt that the plot of *Mamillia* is a sort of re-hashing of that of *Euphues*. Greene's novel begins as if he had set out with an intention of depicting another young wiseacre like Euphues himself. For, before Pharicles meets her at her father's house in Padua, Mamillia had been serving at the Court of the Duke of Venice, where she had entered into a firm friendship, entirely founded upon mutual esteem, and in which neither lust nor love had any part, with a young gentleman of the name of Florion. As Lyly's hero had been jilted by Lucilla, so has Florion been by Luminia, and just as Euphues retired from the society of the Neapolitan

1. This incident is not merely copied from the similar one in *Zelauto*, for Greene's novel has other features that put one in mind of *The Merchant of Venice*. As to which see R. Pruvost, « Le Marchand de Venise avant Shakespeare », *Revue anglo-américaine*, III (1926), pp. 511-514.

ladies, so Florion decides to withdraw from the court of Venice. Happier in this than Euphues with Philautus, he persuades Mamillia to do the same (pp. 15-19). Some time later, when learning that she has found many suitors in Padua, he sends her excellent, if somewhat priggish, advice upon the right choice of a husband (pp. 37-39). It is true that at this point he drops out of the story altogether, and nothing more will be heard of him while Mamillia is jilted by Pharicles and then reclaims him. But there is much in this story, as Jordan has first pointed out, to show that Greene wrote it with *Euphues* in his mind. To begin with, he turned the sentimental intrigue in Lyly's first novel inside out. There it was the heroine that was fickle and jilted two young men. Here it is the hero who transfers his affections from one praiseworthy young lady to another. There women are depicted as inconstant. Here we have many an enthusiastic hymn to their truth and faithfulness. And the parallelism of the inverted situations is followed through incident after incident¹. It even extends to the general arrangement of the book. After the sentimental intrigue had been disposed of, Lyly gave in the *Anatomy of Wyt* the various pronouncements of his hero's wisdom, either in set treatises or in letters to his friends. In the same way the second part of *Mamillia* is provided with a sequel, entitled "The Anatomie of Lovers Flatteries", in which Mamillia describes the wiles of lovers for the benefit of Modesta, a lady whom she has made friends with at « Saragossa », and

1. Cf. Jordan, *Robert Greene*, p. 15: "The plot of *Mamillia* differs in many respects from that of *Euphues*; still the general plan is much the same. Corresponding to Euphues' departure from Athens, we have Mamillia's departure from the court to her father's house. The fundamental theme of infidelity is the same with sexes reversed. This reversal is often carried out in details. Euphues goes from home to gain worldly experience. Mamillia is away from home in the midst of temptations, and goes home in order to avoid them. When Euphues arrives in Naples, he is offered advice which he haughtily rejects. Mamillia is offered advice, which she accepts and earnestly tries to follow. The reversal is carried, also, to the main characters. In *Euphues* there are two faithful male, and one faithless female, characters; in *Mamillia* there are two faithful female, and one faithless male, characters. Corresponding to the fact that Euphues met Lucilla through Philautus' introduction is the fact that it was Mamillia who introduced Pharicles to Publia. Corresponding to the quarrel between Euphues and Philautus when Euphues falls in love with Lucilla, there is the falling out between Mamillia and Publia when Pharicles and Publia fall in love. Corresponding to Euphues' secluding himself at Silexetra is Publia's entrance into a convent. And corresponding to Euphues' letters, are the letters of Mamillia to her friend, the Lady Modesta.

advises her as to the choice of a husband by relating to her the story of Sylvia, a young lady of Toledo who had had the same choice to make as the Spanish lady whom Fidus had told of in *Euphues and his England*¹. But whereas in Lyly's pages the preference is given to the richest suitor, here it goes to the poorest, but at the same time the wittiest, of the three.

There is clearly apparent in all this a wish to emulate Lyly at the same time as imitating him. Imitation also takes a more direct form. This is not the place to dwell upon the fact that Greene does his best to reproduce the structure of Lyly's sentences, and his wealth of copious allusion and illustration by means of proverbial wisdom, legendary lore and "unnatural natural history". But it is not irrelevant to show that he introduced into his story the same sort of set debates and moralizing disquisitions as characterize both parts of *Euphues*. In the first part, Pharicles has borne Mamillia company as she was going to visit her sick uncle Gostino, the father of Publia, and there a discussion arises as to the cause of the old gentleman's illness. Gonzaga is inclined to "say the first cause was love" and thereupon, lots being drawn to select the speaker, Pharicles delivers a long, learned oration upon the nature of love (pp. 75-84). In the second part, at the time when he is troubled by Clarynda's offer of her love, Pharicles repairs to the house of Signor Farnese, the governor of the city, with whose son Ferragus he has struck an intimate friendship. There the company are deep in a discussion, occasioned by a piece of verse in dispraise of woman, upon the question "whether the man or the woman be more constant or loyal in love". They refer their controversy to Pharicles, and he delivers another learned speech in praise of masculine constancy, while one of the ladies takes up the cudgels against him in favour of the greater faithfulness of woman (pp. 217-227). Nor are there lacking disquisitions of a more strictly moral import. Some of these are little more than actual digressions. Such is for instance a longish speech of Ferragus designed to exhort Pharicles to bear his exile patiently (pp. 212-216). As a rule, however, the moralization bears some relation to the main trend of the story. Perhaps indeed there was no real necessity for Mamillia's nurse to go into such lengthy considerations when describing to her the advantages of the married

1. Cf. Lyly's *Works*, ed. by Bond, II, 70-72, and above, p. 256.

state and drawing for her benefit, at a time when she found her perusing Florion's letter upon the right choice of a husband, the portrait of an ideal one (pp. 40-45). And it may be that Greene is rather too fond of seasoning or interrupting his narrative, even more frequently than was the case with Belleforest, Painter, Fenton and Lyly himself, with reflections of his own upon the doings of his characters, and too insistent in his praise of feminine virtue and constancy and his railing at the detractors of the fair sex¹. But he deserves praise for often presenting the moral issue in the speeches of the heroes themselves, and thus making his moralization serve a useful purpose by probing their motives and accounting for their actions.

Not that there is not, here also, much of the sentimental rhetoric of the usual stereotyped description. Mamillia's first soliloquy, uttered after she has received from Pharicles an offer of his love, is a good instance in point. Taking up somewhat over four pages in Grosart's reprint, it is rather too long for quotation. But the main trend of it must at least be indicated. She has up to the present time, so she reflects, remained proof against love. But now she feels inclined towards the young man and, wondering at this strange alteration, asks from herself some such questions as these :

Shal thy staid life be now co(m)pared to the *Camoeleon* that turneth himselfe into the likenes of every object : or likened to the Fullers Mill, which ever waxeth worse and worse : to the hearbe *Phanaces*, whose bud is sweete, and the fruite bitter : to the Ravens in *Arabia*,

1. As to the latter see especially pages 156-159 and 162-163. We subjoin one of the author's early comments upon the character of Pharicles : "*Pharicles* having thus made an end stood in a mase with him selfe, not that it did proceede from any sincere affection, enforced by her vertue : but that his mind was set upon lust, enflamed by her bewtie. Which disease I doubt nowadayes reignes in many *Italian* gentlemen. Whether it be that *Mercurie* is Lord of their birth, or some other peevish planet predominant in the calculation of their nativitie, I know not : but this I am sure, that theyr rype wittes are so soone overshadowed with vice, and their senses so blinded with self love, that they make theyr choyce so farre without skill, as they prove them selves but evill chapmen : for if she be faire, they thinke her faithfull : if her bodye be endued with bewtie, they judge she cannot but be vertuous. They are so blinded with the visor of *Venus* and conceite of *Cupid*, as they think all birdes with white fethers to be simple Doves : every seemely *Sappho*, to be a civill *Salona* : every *Lais* to be a loyall *Lucrece* : every chatting mayde(n) to be a chaste matrone. These are such as chose for lust, and not for love ; as marry the bodye, and not the mind : so that as soone as the beautie of their Mistres be vaded, their love is also quight extinguished. But againe to the purpose" (p. 35).

which being young have a pleasant voyce, and in their age a horrible cry?

By yielding too fast to her inclination she would run the risk indeed of sullyng her fame and lowering herself in the mind of *Pharicles*, who "wil judge that is lightly to bee gained, is as quickly lost". And all for what? What is it she finds to admire in *Pharicles*? His beauty? But :

the finest scabberd hath not ever the bravest blade ; nor the goodliest chest hath not y^e most gorgious treasure : the bell with the best sound, hath an yron clapper : the fading apples of *Tantalus*, have a gallant shew, but if they be toucht, they turne to Ashes : so a faire face may have a foule minde : sweete words, a sower heart : yea rotten bones out of a paynted Sepulchre : for al is not gold that glysters.

His wit? But : "who wyser then *Theseus*? yet none so traiterous". It will be objected that he is of good repute. But :

Who so prayسد in *Rome* of the common people & Senat, as *Jugurth*? yet a rebel. Who had more voyces in *Carthage* then *Aeneas*? yet tryed a stragler : who in more credit with the Romaines the(n) *Scipio Africanus* the great? yet at length fou(n)d halting.

His sober mien may indeed be nothing better than a cloak. For :

The dogge bytest sorest, when hee doeth not barke : the *Onix* is hottest when it lookes white, the Sirens meane most mischiefe, when they sing : the Tyger then hideth his crabbed countenance, when he meaneth to take his pray : and a man doth most dissemble when he speakes fayrest.

To conclude with :

Try then, *Mamillia*, ere thou trust ; prove ere thou put in practise, cast the water ere thou appoynt the medicine, doe all thinges with deliberation, goe as the snaile faire and softly, hast makes waste, the maulte is ever sweetest, where the fire is softest. Let not wit overcome wisdom, nor fancie bee repugnant to faith, let not the hope of an husbände be the hazard of thine honesty, cast not thy credite in the chance of another man, wade not too farre where the foorde is unknowen, rather bridle thy affections with reason, and mortifie thy mynde with modesty, that as thou hast kept thy virginities inviolate without spot, so thy choyse may be without blemishe : know this, it is too late to call againe yesterday. Therefore keepe the memory of *Pharicles* as needful, and yet not necessary : like him when thou shalt have

occasion to love ; and love when thou hast tried him loyall : untill then, remaine indifferent. (pp. 24-29).

There is nothing more here than an exercise upon this theme : "An oration delivered by a chaste and prudent young lady upon first feeling the attaint of love". Nor, apart from the few alterations necessary to make it fit the mouth of a courtesan, is the soliloquy uttered by Clarynda when she becomes infatuated with *Pharicles* essentially different from this one in its general trend and tenor (pp. 190-195). It is plain that in such rhetorical pieces as these Greene is simply applying the declamatory exercises of the schools to the purposes of fiction.

But he also shows himself mindful of the requirements of characterization. Perhaps the happiest example is that in which he shows how *Mamillia*, after overcoming her indignation, if not her sorrow, at the treachery of *Pharicles*, confirms herself in her resolve to keep faithful to him through thick and thin. She believes him at the time to be secretly married to *Publia*, and first exclaims against his disloyalty. But she soon checks herself :

Why but *Mamillia* can these sorrowful exclamations cure thy maladie, or can the rubbing of thy wound procure thine ease?... Wilt thou prove so fond to set that at thy heart which *Pharicles* sets at his heele, to weep for him which wailes not for thee : to sorrow for his amitie which laughs at thy miserie?

No, let her rather lay her liking "upon some other gentleman which both for his person and parentage may deserve as well to be loved as hee to be liked", and by so doing "pay *Pharicles* his debt in the same coine". But from this prospect the honesty of her nature recoils with horror :

Why *Mamillia* art thou mad, or is fancie turned into frenzie? Shal the cowardize of the Kistrel make the Faulcon fearefull? Shall the dread of the Lambe make the Lion a dastard? Shall the leaudnesse of *Pharicles* procure thy lightnesse, or his inconstancie make thee wavering?... If hee by committing perjurie be a discredite unto men, wilt thou by falsifying thy promise be an utter infamie to women? No, the Gods forbid.

And she finally "takes her rest" upon this resolve :

Since *Pharicles* first wonne me, either he himselfe or none shall weare me, and although he hath crackt his credit, violated his oath, falsified

his faith, and broke his protested promise, yet his inconstancie shall never make mee to waver, nor his fleeting fancie shall not diminish mine affection. But in despite both of him and fortune, I will be his in dust and ashes. (pp. 153-156).

To be sure there is in all this rather too much rhetoric for our taste. But under its ample, heavy robes one catches at least a glimpse of some rudiments of true psychology¹.

Of truer psychology than one commonly meets in the pages of Belleforest, Painter, Fenton, Pettie, and Lyly himself. Without dwelling upon this difference, however, the fact must rather be insisted upon that in this novel of Greene we have the usual continuous run of soliloquies, speeches, letters and moralizing comment. The rhetorical effusions of Greene's characters, or at least some of them, may not be quite so stereotyped as those of his predecessors. His technique in the handling of a love-story is nevertheless similar to theirs.

It is a remarkable fact indeed that, in spite of individual differences that one is too apt to slur over by lumping them all together under the common appellation of the Euphuistic novelists, the immediate followers of Lyly should one and all have adopted this same technique. With the exception of the story of Ferdinando Jeronimi it is the one feature common to all the sentimental novels published in England in the time that elapsed between the appearance of the first volume of *The Palace of Pleasure* and, roughly, that of Greene's first novel. It will continue to be a feature of the sentimental novels in the years that follow.

For some time indeed practically the sole provider of works of fiction that were not avowed translations was Robert Greene. He brought out no less than four in the year 1584. Of these *The Myrrour of Modestie* is simply an amplification of the story of Susanna and the Elders, padded up with the now familiar sentimental and moralizing rhetoric. *Gwydonius*. *The Carde of Fancie* and *Arbasto*. *The Anatomie of Fortune* are, again, fairly developed

1. Cf. also the picture of the wavering of Pharicles when he absents himself from Mamillia while engrossed by his newly born love for Publia, is sent to her again by his erroneous belief that the latter has returned to him an unfavourable answer, then discovers that her letter is not so uncourteous as he had too hastily concluded and, while he has just engaged himself deeper with Mamillia, renews his suit of Publia. (pp. 100 ff.).

continuous novels having romantic adventure, moralizing digressions, and a sentimental intrigue embellished and overloaded with the usual soliloquies, speeches and letters. The fourth book published by Greene in 1584, however, is after a different pattern. It was published as *Morando The Tritameron of Love. Wherein certaine pleasaunt conceites, uttered by divers woorthy personages, are perfectly dyscoursed, and three doubtfull questyons of Love, most pithely and pleasauntly discussed*, and this is a fairly accurate description of its contents. While they are the guests of Morando at his country residence, the Lady Panthia and her three daughters discuss with their host, and with three young men who are also staying there as guests, in three successive days, the questions whether it is true that in love "Amor fa molto, ma argento fa tutto"; whether it be good to love or no; and whether by natural constitution women are more subject to love than men. Greene is evidently trying to do on a small scale, and the choice of his title unmistakably points to this conclusion, what Whetstone had recently been doing in the *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*. But here no stories are related. Were it not for a description of the effects wrought upon Silvestro by the birth in his heart of a tender feeling for Lucena, the fiction element would be absent.

This element will occupy more space in the second part of the *Tritameron of Love*, published in 1587. This time the company are gathered at the house of the Lady Panthia, and here again there are some set debates, upon the nature of Fortune, and upon what makes a true friend. But they are only incidental to the delineation of Silvestro's courtship of Lucena, and once more the author avails himself of the possibilities afforded by the situation for indulging in ample rhetorical developments. Except for the fact that it is not marked with the same romantic adventures and variety of incidents, the second part of *Morando* is a novel of a type akin to *Mamillia*, *Gwydonius* and *Arbasto*.

Before it was published, however, Greene had embarked upon a closer imitation of the formula of Whetstone. He was to remain faithful to it for several years, and during this time the part of his work that belongs to fiction proper is made up of novels upon the same model as those of Painter, Fenton and Pettie. He regularly shows various interlocutors discussing some point of morals. In *Planetomachia*, 1585, the several planets hold a debate upon their essence, nature and influence. *Penelopes Web*, 1587,

records "three several discourses", passing between Penelope and her maids, in the course of which "are three especiall vertues, necessary to be incident in every vertuous woman, pithely discussed : namely Obedience, Chastitie, and Sylence". *Euphues his Censure to Philautus*, 1587, presents "a philosophicall combat betweene Hector and Achylles, discovering in foure discourses, interlaced with diverse delightfull Tragedies, the vertues necessary to be incident in every gentleman : had in question at the siege of Troy betwixt sondry Grecian and Troian Lords : especially debated to discover the perfection of a Souldier". In *Perimedes the Blacke-Smith*, 1588, a worthy couple of working people while away the long winter evenings by exchanging remarks upon the advantages of a frugal diet, the perils of gaming, and the excessive luxury of their contemporaries. The two interlocutors in *Alcida. Greenes Metamorphosis*, 1588, entertain each other with talk about the faults most to be condemned in a woman, namedy : wilfulness, fickleness, and the inability to keep a secret. *Orpharion*, 1590, is built round a discussion "in praise and dispraise" of woman, whereas in *Greenes Farewell to Folly*, published in 1591 but composed in 1587¹, a company of ladies and of gentlemen are engaged in talk about three of the seven deadly sins. In each of these, from two to four stories are related by the various speakers in order to illustrate their points. These are novels of about the same length as those of Painter, Fenton or Pettie. Thus isolated from the moralizing and didactic disquisitions that serve them for a frame, they are treated and can be read for themselves. They are varied in their subjects, but practically all have some sort of sentimental plot. As our only concern is here with the method of narration, it seems useless at this point to give a detailed analysis of them². For in these novels Greene consistently follows in the handling of his sentimental intrigues the same practice as in *Mamillia*, *Gwydonius* and *Arbasto*. As he is doing so in relatively short novels, no part of his work is so like Painter's and Fenton's novels out of Bandello and the tales of Pettie.

About 1588 Greene returned to the practice of writing long, continuous romances. They are rather varied in tone and subject.

1. It was registered on june 11, 1587 ; Arber's *Transcript*, II, 471.

2. They are tabulated, and their subjects are briefly indicated, in Appendix I to Jordan's *Robert Greene*. Jordan however does not mention the third tale in *Planetomachia*. See also the present writer's *Robert Greene et ses romans*.

Pandosto, 1588, and *Menaphon*, 1589, testify to the popularity then enjoyed by the pastoral novel. *Ciceronis Amor*, 1589, is a curious piece of work in which we see the great orator take the love-mes-sages of Lentulus to Terentia and, though he loves her himself and she makes it plain that he would please her better by courting her on his own behalf, stoutly refuse to betray his friend's trust, till Lentulus discovers how matters stand, and resigns her to him. *Greenes Mourning Garment*, 1590, is an amplification of the parable of the Prodigal son. Francesco, the hero of *Greenes Never Too Late* and of its sequel *Francescos Fortunes*, 1590, is also a manner of prodigal son who seems to have some traits in common with Greene himself, and whose story is professedly related by the author in a repentant spirit, by way of atonement for what he terms his past follies. But in all, however varied they may be, the technique in the handling of the love-intrigues is again the same as in the previous batch of collections of novels.

These also contain a great many moralizing disquisitions. There are hardly any in *Menaphon*. But *Pandosto* opens with considerations upon the subject of jealousy, and of course the moral note is struck with insistence in *Greenes Mourning Garment*, *Greenes Never Too Late*, and *Francescos Fortunes*. All these works Greene also embellishes with lyrical pieces, mostly meant to provide a striking expression of the feelings of his heroes and heroines. And the same features are also characteristic of his purely romantic *Philomela*, 1592.

They are to be met with as well, about the same time, in various works of Thomas Lodge, such as his pastoral novel of *Rosalynde*, his *Euphues Shadow* and his *A Margarite of America*, and somewhat later in the productions of some imitators of Greene and Lodge, and more particularly in those of John Dickenson, the unjustly neglected author of *Arisbas*. *Euphues amidst his slumbers*, 1594, and of *Greene in conceipt : new raised from his grave to write the tragique historie of faire Valeria of London*, 1598. It is a striking fact also that Angel Day should introduce into his translation of *Daphnis and Chloe*, for which he took as his guide that of Amyot, both pieces of verse in which the young goatherd sings his love of the fair shepherdess, and developments of his own in which, at greater length than his original, he describes the state of Daphnis' heart at the time of the birth of his love, or the emotions which Dorcon was made to undergo by his admiration of the beauty of

Chloe¹. And doubtless it would be necessary to a complete inquiry to supply examples of the practice of all these writers in this respect. But this would but involve us in tedious repetition, without adding much force to our demonstration of the fact that in the next twenty or twenty-five years after the publication of Painter's and Fenton's translations of novels out of Bandello, most of the writers of fiction overloaded their stories with set rhetorical pieces, always coupled with moralizing developments, and some times with lyrical crystallization of the feelings, of the same description as those which these translators had copied from Boaistuau and Belleforest.

It remains to be shown, however, that as a matter of historical fact it was through the influence of Painter and of Fenton that this technique in the handling of a novel was adopted by so many of their followers in the field of fiction.

Models for their sentimental rhetoric the Elizabethan novelists might have found in many other writers. The compilation of love-letters like those of the heroes of Boaistuau and Belleforest, and of their English translators after them, had been one of the exercises most in favour in the schools of declamation of the ancient world. Now their most famous text-books, and more especially the *Pro-gymnasta* of Hermogenes and those of Aphthonios, were in constant use in the English schools of the sixteenth century². With Turberville's translation of Ovid's *Epistolae Heroidum*, which went through five editions between 1567 and 1600, Elizabethan England hugged to its heart a collection of rhetorical love-letters that was an undoubted product of the teaching of those schools. And there were also many more recent incentives to indulge in the same sort of rhetoric. To say nothing of the work of the Petrarchistic school of poetry, Erasmus had given models of love-letters, though it was meant for school-boys, in his treatise *De conscribendis Epistolis*, an edition of which, for the use of English readers, had been issued at Cambridge in 1521³; "sundry Letters, belonging to love", both verse and prose, were included by William Fulwood in *The Enimie of Idlenesse : Teaching the maner and stile how to endite, compose,*

1. Cf. R. Pruvost, *Le "Daphnis and Chloe" d'Angel Day*.

2. As to this see the present writer's *Robert Greene et ses romans*, ch. 2.

3. Cf. A. Benoist, *Quid de puerorum institutione senserit Erasmus*, Paris, 1876.

and write all sorts of Epistles and Letters : as well by answer, as otherwise, which was "imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman... Anno 1568" ¹; and there were other pieces of the same description, both prose and verse again, in Whetstone's *Rocke of Regard* ², and in H. C's *The Forrest of Fancy* ³.

In none of these, however, are the rhetorical exercises worked into the fabric of a story as they are in both the English novels out of Bandello and the later Euphuistic novels and Elizabethan love-pamphlets. These books may serve as an indication of the fondness of the Elizabethans for just that kind of sentimental rhetoric. But it seems that, as possible sources of the technique which we have been endeavouring to illustrate, we must take into account those works only in which the sentimental rhetoric is put to the same dynamic and dramatic uses as in the English novels out of Bandello.

Among these, moreover, the preference will be given to those in which, at the same time as the sentimental rhetoric is coupled with extensive moralization and, though this is perhaps only secondary, occasional lyrical crystallization of the emotions, the general atmosphere is at one with the usually idealistic tone of the Elizabethan

1. Book 4. There were other editions in 1571, 1578, 1582, 1586, 1593, 1598 and 1621.

2. Here are a few titles : The complaint of two Lovers, restrained from their wished desires by the displeasure of their friendes — The Device of a Gentlewoman to persuade her Lover of her constancie, notwithstanding her show of hate, which shee only used to quench the jelous suspicion of her friendes — The rejected Lover, with earnest desire, pursues the sight of his disdainfull mystresse — A Gentlewoman, falsely deceived with faire wordes, forswearth hereafter to be wonne with flattering promises — The pitious complaint of Medea, forsaken of Jason, lively bewraying the slipperie hold in sugred words — The forsaken Lover pretilie nippeth his Ladies inconstancie, for that (as he thought) shee matched with his baser in accompt, wherein coulerable he discovereth both their names ; etc.

3. A few titles again : A Letter written by a yong maiden to a Lover of hers, wherein she detecteth the trechery of many men, and their great dissimulation — A yong man enamoured of a very fayre Gentlewoman, declareth the dolorous passions that he suffereth for her sake, and craveth mercy at her handes — A lover having long concealed his love, at the last revealeth it, and craveth favour at the handes of his beloved mistress — A Lover whose friend for his sake was frowardlye delte withal, writeth unto her, to perswade her with pacience, to suffer it for a season — A yong man finding her to whome he had plighted promise, to be fraught with another mans fructe, wrighteth unto her as followeth — A Letter written to a yong widdowe, that was before matched with a very olde man, perswading her to make choyse of one whose yeares weare more agreeable with her owne ; etc.

love-pamphlets. And should several works or groups of works be found with all these characteristics together, we shall be guided in choosing among them by the consideration of such questions as whether they were known in England before the work of translating novels out of Bandello was begun and, should this prove to be the case, whether the spreading of the technique that we are studying followed or not upon their appearance.

The dynamic use of sentimental rhetoric is to be found, to begin with, both in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and in those works of Renaissance fiction which Profr. Schevill lists together under the common appellation of "the Ovidian tale". The beginning of this genre he finds in Italy with the *Fiammetta*, *Ninfale Fiesolano* and *Corbaccio* of Boccaccio, and the *Historia de duobus amantibus* of Aeneas Sylvius. He also notices the presence of Ovidian elements, among other Spanish works, in the *Tratado de amores de Arnalto y Lucenda* and the *Carcel de Amor* of Diego de San Pedro¹. The body of fiction which he thus brings together has so much in common with the Elizabethan love-pamphlets as loudly to call for our consideration.

Not unfrequently, indeed, the romantic themes and tragical features of Elizabethan sentimental fiction are similar to those of many of the stories that Ovid had strung together in the *Metamorphoses* or, in the *Heroides*, had used as a text for his rhetorical developments. As regards tragical fiction especially, it is perhaps no mere chance that in so many of the Elizabethan allusions to it the story of Romeo and Juliet should be coupled with that of Pyramus and Thisbe, and that Pettie should have gone to the Latin poet for certain novels in which love is fraught with an irresistible power and devastating possibilities. Such a lust-driven heroine as Greene's Moedina is not essentially different from Ovid's Medea, Scilla, Canace or Byblis. She might be used to illustrate the proposition, commonly met with in the literature inspired by Ovid, that there are no limits to the lengths to which an enraged woman will allow herself to be carried². Nor are these by any means the only points of contact between the Elizabethan love-pamphlets and Ovidian literature. In both women are taught not to yield

1. *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain*.

2. For our analysis of the characteristics of the Ovidian tale we are indebted in this paragraph to Schevill, *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

at the first assault, however tempted they may feel to do so, and men not to give over the chase simply because they have suffered one or more repulses. In both there are many discussions in praise and dispraise of women. In both finally love is pictured as a disease causing those who suffer from it to sigh, groan, wax lean and pale, pine away, and, when in the presence of the loved person, be so awe-stricken at the first that they cannot declare their passion ; the wooing is carried on most often with the help of a go-between, a servant or a friend, who carries the letters that pass between the lovers ; and there are at every turn many profuse letters, soliloquies and speeches¹. The question seems worth putting whether the writers of Elizabethan fiction may not have modelled themselves upon the productions of Ovidian literature.

The more so as Miss Violet Jeffery has recently expressed the opinion that Lyly's rhetoric in *Euphues* is to a large extent modelled upon that of Boccaccio in the *Filocolo*, and above all in the *Fiammetta*. She is careful to say that she is "not attempting to claim that Italian influence alone was responsible for Lyly's mannerisms", but this follows immediately upon an assertion that "*Euphues*, to any one acquainted with Italian literature, reads like a translation from Boccaccio executed by a Petrarchist"². If she were right, the utmost attention would have to be given to the fact that soliloquies and speeches like those in Ovid, or rather lengthier, more numerous and more subtle, occur in some of Boccaccio's larger works ; that they had at an early date passed into English literature when Chaucer, with Boccaccio's *Filostrato* for his model, had placed in the mouths of his Troilus and his Criseyde pieces of impassioned oratory that seem to foreshadow those of the heroes and heroines of Lyly and of the writers of Elizabethan love-pamphlets ; that Chaucer was popular with the Elizabethans ; and finally that, as Munro as shown, many of his mannerisms are imitated in Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*³. While notice must

1. Cf. Ovid's *Heroides*, and, in *Metamorphoses*, Bk VII, the soliloquy of Medea, Bk VIII, that of Scilla, Bk IX, the soliloquy of Byblis and the letter by which she makes an offer of her person to her brother ; as for the Ovidian tales cf., besides Schevill, Reynier's *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*.

2. *John Lyly and the Italian Renaissance*, p. 131.

3. Cf. Munro's introduction to his reprint of Brooke's poem and, as to the more general point, Caroline F. Spurgeon, *Five hundred years of Chaucer criticism and allusion*, Cambridge University Press, 1925.

also be taken of the presence of pieces of verse intermingled with the prose in such works of Boccaccio as the *Ameto* and the *Ninfaie Fiesolano*.

But we do not believe Miss Jeffery to have proved her case. For one thing, the growth of the Euphuistic style is too complex a process to be accounted for by the imitation of some particular writer or group of writers. For another, whereas the parallelisms she seeks to establish between the quotations she culls from Lyly and from sundry Italian writers are rarely so close as to put direct imitation beyond any possibility of doubt, Miss Jeffery neither shows that Lyly did read the works that he is supposed to have imitated, nor that he could not have found elsewhere the ideas and devices that are common to his *Euphues* and to these Italian books¹. Besides, what would have to be shown here is that not only Lyly, but also Whetstone, Pettie and Grange before him derived their rhetorical devices from Boccaccio. This would be a hopeless undertaking, for at the time when these devices began to be adopted by them the English had but scant knowledge of his work. Some novels out of the *Decameron* had indeed been done into English, but it is not they that are supposed to have been influential, and indeed they are so different, so more direct and simple, that the hypothesis would be dismissed as soon as put forward. Of the works for which the claim is, or might be made, there is nothing to show that the *Ameto* and the *Ninfaie Fiesolano*, at least so far as we are aware, were known to the Elizabethans at all; the *Fiammetta* was not done into English till nine years after the publication of *Euphues*; the only one that might be retained is the *Filocolo*, in which there are indeed not only soliloquies and speeches, but also letters that pass between Florio and Biancofiore. But it is not certain that the *Filocolo* as a whole was known in England at the time when the novels out of Bandello appeared. All that is known is that a translation of the episode of the "questions of love" had been published about 1567 as *A pleasaunt disport of divers noble personages: written in Italian by*

1. For a fuller presentation of our objections to Miss Jeffery's thesis see our review of her book in *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, December 1929. A refutation of her contentions is also to be found in Laura Torretta: "L'Italofobia di John Lyly e i rapporti dell' "Euphues" col Rinascimento italiano", *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, ciii (1934), 205-253.

*M. J. Bocace... in his boke which is entituled Philocopo*¹. Now this, which appeared only contemporaneously with the novels out of Bandello, could at best have only an equal claim with them. And it may indeed, better than they did, have provided Lyly, and the author of the story of Ferdinando Jeronimi before him, with a model for their set and formal debates. But it is made up of discussions of nice points of love-casuistry, not of love-stories related with the help of much rhetoric and to the accompaniment of considerable moralization². Its rhetoric again is static, not dynamic and dramatic. As compared with the imitation of Boccaccio's mannerisms, the English novels out of Bandello are a more likely source of the narrative technique common to the love-stories of Whetstone, Pettie, Grange, Lyly and sundry other writers in their wake.

But if the works of Boccaccio were little known in England before 1570, the same cannot be said of the poems of Ovid and of the other Ovidian tales besides those of Boccaccio. Ovid was used as a text-book in the schools. And not only had the *Carcel de Amor* of Diego de San Pedro, his *Arnalto y Lucenda*, and the *Historia de duobus amantibus* of Aeneas Sylvius all been done into English long before the work of translating Bandello had begun, but it was through these translations that the device of using letters to help forward the progress of a love-intrigue was first brought into England³.

1. Brought out by Henry Bynnenman in an undated edition, but entered in the Stationers' Registers, to Richard Smythe, in 1566-67 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 337). There were other editions, with a slightly different title, in 1571 and 1587.

2. See the recent reprint of the Elizabethan translation by Edward Hutton, and the analysis of the contents in Crane, *Italian social Customs of the sixteenth century*, pp. 58 ff.

3. The English titles are : *The Castell of Love ; A certain treatye moste wyttely devysed orygyynally wrytten in the spanyshe, lately Traducted in to Frenche entytled, Lamant mal traicte de sa mye ; and The goodli history of the ...Ladye Lucrez ... and of her lover Euryalus*. Done by John Bouchier, Lord Berners, circa 1540, the first of these translations was reprinted both in 1549 (?) and in 1560 (?). *Lamant mal traicte de sa mye*, to which my attention was drawn by Professor Koszul, seems to have escaped the notice of the historians of the English novel. It has an Epistle dedicatory, addressed by John Clerk to "the ryght honorable lorde Henry erle of Surrey", dated from "J.lambythe, the xvii daye of Marche. 1543". *Lucrez and Euryalus* was first published circa 1550 and went through two more editions in 1560 and 1567. In his article on *The beginning of Italian influence upon English prose fiction*, H. J. Savage states that the first English example of love-letters in a work of fiction is to be found in the translation of the *Historia de duobus*

Concerning Ovid, however, it may be pertinent to remark that his use of rhetorical devices is rather sparing when compared with that of the authors of the Elizabethan love-pamphlets. In the abundance and frequency of their resort to them, these English writers are more at one with those of the Renaissance Ovidian tales. But yet the possibility of the novels of Diego de San Pedro and of Aeneas Sylvius having exerted an active influence is ruled out in our opinion by the fact that the peculiar use of soliloquies, speeches and letters, as a sort of embellishment always coming in at the same place and in the same manner, of which they offer early examples, did not penetrate into English fiction before Painter and Fenton, following the lead of Boaistuau and Belleforest, made it a feature of their novels out of Bandello. Once again the actual facts of the case seem to point to these novels out of Bandello as the more likely source of the sentimental rhetoric of the Elizabethan love-pamphlets.

But then may be the French translators of Bandello did nothing more than pass on to Elizabethan fiction, through their immediate English followers, features that they had borrowed from Ovid himself or from earlier Ovidian tales. While there is ample evidence that he knew the longer works of Boccaccio and the novel of Aeneas Sylvius, Bandello himself is actually far less rhetorical than they were. But there is in the French and the English versions of his novels so much more rhetoric than in his original tales that his translators may be said to have much rather departed from his method in this respect than imitated it, and perhaps we should say that Boaistuau and Belleforest, who are responsible for the change, rewrote his stories in the style of the Ovidian tales. In France at any rate the *Fiammetta*, the *Historia de duobus amantibus*, and the two novels of Diego de San Pedro, appeared in the first half of the sixteenth century in translations that all went through several editions, whereas, though at a somewhat later date, Belleforest himself turned the *Corbaccio* into French¹.

Yet the *Histoires Tragiques* cannot be looked upon as full-fledged

amantibus. Though noting that there are such letters in *The Castell of Love*, Professor Baker repeats this statement (*History of the English Novel*, I, 256 and II, 18). Surely the priority in this respect belongs to the translations from Diego de San Pedro.

1. There is a copy of this translation, dated 1571, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. For the others cf. Reynier, *Op. cit.*, part I, chapters 3, 4, and 6.

Ovidian tales, and this is true to an even greater degree of the selection from them that was turned into English. Essential to the inspiration derived from Ovid are first, according to Profr. Schevill's analysis, a conception of love as a purely physical desire, leading to illicit union with its object, and second an attitude towards woman that insists upon her failings more willingly than upon her virtues. And to be sure one does not dream of claiming that all the women in the *Histoires Tragiques* or in the English novels out of Bandello were chaste, loving, dutiful, faithful and angelic creatures. But in their French and English versions the relation of the stories of the bad women would often seem to have been undertaken chiefly in order to make their wickedness hateful and at the same time set in an even more amiable light, by way of contrast, the virtue of those that are wholly deserving of admiration. Nor are these good and worthy women less numerous than the others. With the result that the weight of the emphasis is thrown on the side of the praise rather than of the dispraise of women. Concurrently, the treatment of love evinces upon the whole an idealism that would be totally unwarranted by faithfulness to the Ovidian conception. Lust there is in plenty to be sure in the *Histoires Tragiques*. But in the majority of cases either it is balked of its ends or brings ruin and tragedy in its wake. Those who have yielded to it hardly ever cut a sympathetic figure, as Boccaccio's Fiammetta and the Lucrece of Aeneas Sylvius are made to do, nor are the ladies who resist it vituperated for doing so as they are in Boccaccio's *Filostrato* and *Corbaccio*. Quite the contrary, they are praised all the more highly as they are more determined in their opposition to it, they can win no greater victory than when they cause the lustfully inclined to desist from their purpose, and all the sympathy is reserved for those whose love is chaste and looks to marriage or, if this is impossible, remains noble and disinterested. However many elements they may have in common with the Ovidian tales, there is at the heart of the *Histoires Tragiques*, when all is said, an idealistic conception of love and woman, and an insistence upon moral issues, that are the very reverse of the spirit informing the others.

These features, as has been seen, are even more strongly characteristic of the English translations of novels out of Bandello. As the English love-pamphlets on their side are instinct with a similar idealism and insistence upon moral issues, there is in this fact

one more argument in favour of their having responded to the direct influence of these translations.

Before coming to a final conclusion, however, the claim of Chaucer must be considered. For Canby quite accurately says that "he discourses upon character and manners as the Elizabethan novella writers were to do two centuries later"¹. And account must be taken of other works in which the Elizabethan writers of fiction might have found idealistic propensities similar to theirs, together with sentimental rhetoric not dissimilar from theirs and most of the features characteristic of their work.

Now it is quite true that Chaucer retained sufficient popularity with the Elizabethans for him to have exerted an influence upon them. But not, it seems, the sort of influence that led to their adoption of the technique which we are discussing. For, to quote again from Canby: "he has few of the faults which belong to narrative of the later Renaissance in the sixteenth century. He was not dazzled by the new knowledge as were its writers of fiction. He is not diverted into pages of empty argument by his interest in manners, nor into a false rhetoric by a rage to refine the tongue"². If the Elizabethan novelists had any model for their technique, this model was not Chaucer.

We are thus thrown back upon a consideration of the purely idealistic works of fiction known to the Elizabethans. Now we have already remarked upon the fact that the themes of Elizabethan romance are not essentially different from those of mediaeval romance, refreshed and rejuvenated for the Elizabethans in the waters of Greek and of Spanish romance. It remains for us to reconcile this fact with our present contention that the sentimental rhetoric of the Elizabethan Euphuistic novels and love-pamphlets was derived from that of the English translations and adaptations of novels out of Bandello.

It is not enough in this place to recall that these translations had much in common, on their romantic side, with Greek and with Spanish as well as with mediaeval romance. For we have shown already that the influence of these three bodies of fiction would probably have been exerted in the same way, and that Elizabethan romantic fiction would probably have treated very much the same

1. *The Short Story in English*, p. 74.

2. *Ibid.*

themes, even had no novel out of Bandello ever been translated into English. But we are dealing here less with romantic themes than with their rhetorical handling.

Now there is to be found in the Greek novels sentimental oratory of a kindred nature to that which confronts the reader at every turn in the pages of Boistuau, Belleforest and their English translators¹. The Greek novelists had been trained in the schools of declamation, and they applied to the treatment of fiction the lessons which they had been taught in those schools². And it is quite possible that their works should have influenced the French translators of Bandello, for they had been turned into French before Boistuau and Belleforest set to their task, and the latter was to bring out in 1568, while he was still at work upon his *Histoires Tragiques*, a translation of *Clitophon and Leucippa*³. As, moreover, the Greek novels were popular with the Elizabethans, and instinct with the same idealistic tendencies as the Elizabethan love-pamphlets, the possibility that they may have been instrumental in providing them with their rhetorical features would seem at first sight to be as great as that these features should have been derived from the English novels out of Bandello.

Yet again the Greek novelists hardly ever indulge in the moralization with which their Elizabethan successors were so prone to fill their pages. And as regards sentimental rhetoric they are, like Ovid, much more sparing in their use of it than Pettie, Lyly and their numerous followers. With them the story as such remains the main thing. With the writers of the Elizabethan Euphuistic novels and love-pamphlets on the contrary it has often been so reduced that it seems in great danger of being stifled under the ample robes of rhetoric. This is indeed a development that is

1. For an account of these rhetorical features of the Greek novel cf. Wolff, *The Greek romances in Elizabethan prose fiction*.

2. For a description of the exercises practised in the schools of declamation, and a consideration of the way in which they provided aspiring novelists with possible subjects and with the rules to be followed in order to treat them in striking, arresting fashion, cf. Bornecque, *Les déclamations et les déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père*, and Baldwin, *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic*.

3. Before this, translations of the first four books of *Clitophon and Leucippa*, and of the whole work, had appeared respectively in 1554 and 1556. Amyot's translation of the *Aethiopian History*, 1547, reached a third edition in 1559. *Ismenius* was done into French in 1559. Apart from this, there had been published in 1554 a French translation of Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso's *Clareo y Florisea*, a large part of which is imitated from *Clitophon and Leucippa*. Cf. Reynier, *Op. cit.*, 158-59.

quite typical of the Renaissance. Both Ovid and the Greek novelists bring to bear upon the writing of fiction their rhetorical training in the schools of declamation. When the men of the Renaissance sought to write better than the despised scholastics had done, they not only went for guidance to the text-books of those schools, such as the *Progymnasta* of Hermogenes and those of Aphthonios, or to others, such as the *Ad Herennium*, that were conceived in very much the same spirit¹, but they were so keen and enthusiastic as to be totally unrestrained in their application of the rules that they found there, and to write with even greater artificiality than their teaching warranted. Even when setting out to follow better and more classical models, they travestied rather than actually imitated them: the Ciceronians for instance applied the stylistic devices which they looked upon as characteristic of their favourite author with such a lack of measure that their prose has hardly any of the qualities of genuine Ciceronian prose². In the same way, the writers of fiction of the Renaissance very often put the sentimental rhetoric which they came across in the pages of Ovid and the Greek novelists to a much more extensive use than those ancient writers. And so, if any models are to be sought for the profuse sentimental rhetoric of the Elizabethan love-pamphlets, it seems that they would rather be found in works in which the scope of rhetoric is extended far beyond what would have been warranted by the example of even the most rhetorical among the productions of antiquity.

Now in thus indulging their rhetorical bent to the full the men of the sixteenth century were simply following in the footsteps of their mediaeval predecessors. In his study of *Les Arts Poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1923), Mr. Faral has shown how the writers of the Middle Ages had reduced the art of writing to the systematic, unrestrained application of a set of mechanical rules mostly derived from the *Ad Herennium*. And in some ways it might be said that the sentimental rhetoric of the *Histoires Tragiques* represents the full blossoming of a tendency transmitted from mediaeval literature.

Most of the rhetoric that fills the love literature of the Middle

1. About these works and their influence cf. Baldwin, *Mediaeval Rhetoric and Poetic*.

2. For a fuller treatment of this point cf. the present writer's *Robert Greene et ses Romans*, ch. 2.

Ages on its idealistic side is a development of an influence originally derived from Ovid. Gaston Paris ascribes to it the subtle and thorough dissertations on the casuistry and metaphysics of love to be found in the *Tractatus amoris et de amoris remedio* of Andreas Capellanus¹. An edition of this work, dated 1610, is in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and thus it may well have preserved readers all through the sixteenth century. It does not seem to have been quite so popular, however, as the *Arrets d'Amours* of Martial d'Auvergne, conceived in a kindred spirit, and of which, beside several that are undated, the Bibliothèque Nationale has editions dated 1533, 1538, 1544, 1566, 1587, 1597 and 1611. Nor does the reprinting of old works tell the whole story. The same sort of love-casuistry as in Andreas Capellanus and Martial d'Auvergne was to be met with in the episode of the "questions of love" included in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*. A separate translation of the "questions", first published at Paris in 1531, had two more editions in the next few years, one undated, and the other in 1541, while Adrien Sévin's translation of the whole work, published in 1541, was printed again in 1555 and 1575. Somewhat later, and just before sundry novels of Bandello were turned into French, original works such as the *Erreurs Amoureuses* of Pontus de Thiard and the *Colloques d'Amour* of Etienne Pasquier, to mention only the most important, prolonged this vein and added to the earlier works, together with a note of preciousness in the expression of the feelings and the hyperbolic flights of the lovers, moralizing developments and displays of erudition. Here sentimental rhetoric assumes very much the same characters as in the French translations of Bandello².

Yet again one thing it is to write detached pieces like those in the collections of Andreas Capellanus, Martial d'Auvergne and their followers, and another to give them dramatic value as is done by Boaistuau and Belleforest in the *Histoires Tragiques*. But mediaeval romance had long been in the habit of doing this. Gaston Paris has shown that one of the distinctive features of the romances of adventure is the subtlety, "sometimes excessive and often childish",

1. Gaston Paris, *Les anciennes versions françaises de l'« Art d'aimer » et des « Remèdes d'amour » d'Ovide*.

2. For most of the information in this paragraph I am indebted to Bourciez, *Les mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II*. See also Reynier, *Op. cit.*, and Crane, *Italian social Customs of the sixteenth century*.

with which they develop and analyse the sentiments, and especially the conflicts of sentiment, of their characters, and the way in which the narrative is interspersed with digressions upon the nature of women¹. If to this we add, not only the idealism displayed by their writers in their treatment of love and portrayal of women, but also the fact that the intermingling of prose and verse is found at a very early date in many a mediaeval work, and notably in such romances as *Guillaume de Dôle*, *Le Roman de la Violette*, *Le Chastelain de Coucy*, and sundry others², the kinship will be fully apparent of these productions, not only with the *Histoires Tragiques*, but with the Elizabethan novels and romances. Now mediaeval fiction, as we have seen, remained highly popular with the Elizabethans. The question really arises whether, for their rhetorical features, the Elizabethan love-pamphlets may not have been indebted to its productions. Remarking that Chrestien de Troyes "slipped easily from narration into dialogue, rather too easily, perhaps, from dialogue to soliloquy and mental analysis", the latest historian of the Elizabethan novel at any rate recognises a kinship between his sentimental rhetoric and that of Lyly in *Euphues*³. And Profr. Bush has noted that in a French poem belonging to the same cycle as those of Chrestien, the *Philomena*, the changes made in the Ovidian story of Tereus and Progne are of the same order as those that were favoured in the sixteenth century. Rhetoric and "the metaphysics of love and madness" are there everywhere. A long debate intervenes upon the question whether *Philomena* shall accompany *Tereus* or not. *Tereus's* growing passion is recorded through all its stages." He first tries to win *Philomena* with a flood of eloquence. When learning of the death of her sister, *Progne* delivers a long speech against *Death*. And the discovery of the treachery of her husband causes her to inveigh against men in an impassioned tirade⁴.

For all its continuing popularity, however, it may be doubted that mediaeval romance kept its most enthusiastic readers among the University Wits who wrote the Elizabethan love-pamphlets, and overloaded their stories with sentimental rhetoric, with moral

1. Gaston Paris, *Le Roman d'aventure*, p. 770..

2. Cf. Ch. V. Langlois, *La Vie en France au Moyen-Age du XII^e au XIV^e siècle*, d'après des romans mondains du temps, p. 75.

3. Baker, *History of the English Novel*, I, 110 ff.

4. Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance tradition in English poetry*, p. 13.

disquisitions, and with learned dissertations for which they drew upon the freshly rediscovered stores of classical knowledge. Or for that matter among the courtly and cultured circles for which they chiefly wrote. We rather feel that, even while in many respects continuing a mediaeval tradition, the Elizabethan novelists would have scouted the notion that they might model themselves, especially as regards style and technique, upon any mediaeval writer. And thus, as between mediaeval romance and the English novels out of Bandello, the latter again seem to be a likelier immediate source of the rhetorical features which the Elizabethan love-pamphlets have in common with both.

Nor do the *Histoires Tragiques*, either, seem to have derived their rhetorical features straight from mediaeval romantic fiction. For, as Mr. Reynier has shown, in the various prose redactions of the courtly epic that were brought out in France in the sixteenth century, the picture of love on the one hand gradually became less delicate, and on the other was finally reduced to almost nothing¹. Nor, whether courtly epic or romance of adventure, does it appear from Bourciez's still valuable thesis on *Les mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II* that there was any properly mediaeval work of fiction among those which inspired the revival of chivalric ideas at the court of Henri II, a king who died, be it remembered, in the very year of the appearance of the first volume of the *Histoires Tragiques*. As against this we might point out, it is true, that the spirit of mediaeval romance had been transmitted to the contemporaries of Henri II by the continued vogue of Martial d'Auvergne, by the translations of the Questions episode in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, and by the work of Pontus de Thiard and Étienne Pasquier. But indeed the most potent influence in transmitting this spirit, as Bourciez has shown, was that of the Spanish romances of chivalry, and more particularly of the *Amadis* romances.

Now these also are full of sentimental rhetoric. What interest was evoked by this rhetoric may be judged not only from the publication in 1559, the same year as that of the first volume of the *Histoires Tragiques*, but also from the immediate success, attested by numerous reprints with ever fresh additions, of *Le Thresor des douze Livres d'amadis de Gaule, assavoir les Harengues, Concions, Epistres, Complaintes, & autres choses les plus excellentes*

1. Reynier, *Op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

*et dignes du lecteur François*¹. A fair idea of its contents may be gathered from the words in which the writer of an Epistle "to the gentle Reader" prefixed to T. Paynell's English translation of this book informed him that there he would find, among other things :

eloquent orations and wyse counsels..., sweete and delicate Epistles and letters especially of love, ... curteously and amiably handled, ... exhortations and admonitions... prudently penned, ... lamentations & complaints... sorrowfully and mournfully expressed, ... consolations and comforts in adversitie... frendly and lovingly pronounced, ... answers and replications... ingeniously invented, ... reproches and tauntes... bitingly and bitterly-spoken, ... requests... humanly and civilly demaunded, ... excuses craftily and subtilly painted and coloured².

The table of contents yields such items as the following :

Lettre de la Princesse Oriane à Amadis, l'accusant de desloyauté — La co(m)plainte d'Amadis qu'il fist aya(n)t receu la vigoureuse lettre d'Oriane, demonstrent la mobilité de fortune par laquelle elle le banissoit de sa compagnie — Complainte de mesme argument que la precedente qu'Amadis adresse à son pere — Co(m)plainte d'Amadis, addressee au seigneur Galuanes, le remerciant de ses bien faitz — L'hermite parlant à Amadis le console en son adversite — L'hermite encor parla(n)t à Amadis l'exhorte a pre(n)dre courage, & de ne s'abuser aux fe(m)mes — Regret d'Oriane pour Amadis, lors qu'elle fut advertie par Durin de son esloignement — La Harengue de Guillan à la Royne pour l'escu d'Amadis qu'il avoit trouvé — Lamentation d'Oriane, ayant entendu par Guillan la perte d'Amadis — Amadis se console des nouvelles qu'il reçoit de son amie Oriane — Lettre d'Oriane à Amadis, par laquelle elle s'excuse envers luy, d'aucunes fautes d'amour qui ont esté en elle — Lamentation du beau tenebreux, lors qu'il retournoit à Mirefleur : declara(n)t à la Damoiselle de Dannemarc qu'il avoit beaucoup enduré sans cause, le taxant de n'estre fidele Amant.

All these are from book II. The other books would furnish essen-

1. To the editions mentioned by Reynier, *Op. cit.*, p. 225, n. 2, one should add the following : Anvers, C. Plantin, 1560 (British Museum) ; Paris, Hierosme de Marne et Guillaume Cayellat, 1565 (Library of the Sorbonne) ; Lyon, Jean Pygot, 1567 (Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève).

2. This *Treasure of Amadis of Fraunce* is extant in an undated edition. The work was entered in the Stationers' Registers in 1567-68 (Arber's *Transcript*, I, 359). But Mr Henry Thomas is of opinion that the edition in which it has been preserved cannot have been brought out before 1571 ("English translations of Portuguese books before 1640", *The Library*, IVth Series, VII (1920), 1-30).

tially similar materials. Here are again some items drawn from books XI and XII :

Quelques co(m)plaintes extraictes de l'onzieme livre, chapitre premier, auxquelles on voit la Roynie Sidonie se plaindre assez inconstamment d'amour — Arlande se plaint des douleurs qu'amour luy fait endurer : puis loue les beautez de Cleosile — Dom Rogel prie Leonide qu'elle le tienne pour son Chevalier — Response de la princesse Leonide au prince Rogel — Piteuse co(m)plainte de Diane pour l'absence de son mari Agesilan — Co(m)plainte de daraide, souhaite(n)t la mort pour ne s'oser do(n)ner à conoistre à sa dame — Co(m)plainte amoureuse de Daraide à la princesse Diane — Lettre de Dom Filisel de Montespin à Marfire, la priant prendre pitie du tourment qui souffre pour l'aymer, & lui donner moyen de parler à elle — Lettre de Dom Filisel à Marfire, par laquelle il se plaint de la rigueur dont elle use en son endroit & luy prie avoir pitie de luy ¹.

Thus it may be seen that, as well as regards their ideal conception of love and woman as their rhetorical features, the *Histoires Tragiques* resemble the *Amadis* romances even more closely than the Greek romances, the mediaeval romances, and the Ovidian tales. And indeed they must have evoked the same kind of interest, for the *Thresor d'Amadis* was followed in 1581 by the *Thresor des Histoires tragiques de François de Belleforest*, a collection similar to it in all respects, since it gathers together «les Harangues, Discours, Complaintes, Remontrances, Exhortations, Missives et autres propos remarquables contenus en icelles» ². Moreover, the author of the *Histoires Tragiques* certainly had the *Amadis* romances in his mind when he translated Bandello into French, for he uses as a generic name for the servants who ply with messages between their mistresses and their lovers that of Darioletta, the complaisant maid and confidante of the mother of Amadis ³. In view of such facts as these, and of the overwhelming popularity of the *Amadis* romances at the court of Henri II, we are undoubtedly justified in saying that, when turned into French by Boaistuau and Belleforest, the novels of Bandello were so rewritten as to provide a literary fare similar to that which was offered by the *Amadis* romances.

And these same novels "out of Bandello" it was that were really

1. I use the 1565 edition in the Library of the Sorbonne.

2. Cf. Sturel, *Op. cit.*, p. 134, n.

3. *Ibid.*, 124.

instrumental in first bringing this literary fare to England. For the earliest English translation of a Spanish romance of chivalry only appeared rather more than ten years after the publication of *The Palace of Pleasure*, and even then the work of translation proceeded somewhat slowly, only becoming really active about 1588. It is true that an English translation of the *Thresor d'Amadis* was published in London about 1567. But this would not seem to have been of sufficient importance to have endowed the novels of Pettie, the *Euphuies* of Lyly, and the later love-pamphlets, with rhetorical features akin to those of the *Amadis* romances. A much more likely explanation seems to be that these features were imitated from the *Histoires Tragiques* and from their English translations, where they are also to be met with.

This view is further confirmed by the fact that if, with the exception of the jocular indelicacies which Belleforest did not reject as resolutely as the English writers, the Elizabethan novels and romances are like the Spanish romances where the *Histoires Tragiques* resemble them, they also diverge from them in exactly the same directions. In the pages of Whetstone, Grange, Pettie, Lyly, Rich, Melbancke, Warner and Greene no less than in those of Boaistuau, Belleforest, Painter and Fenton, lust usually works greater havoc than it does in the *Amadis* romances, and greater insistence is laid upon the duties of conjugal faithfulness and of chastity. The long moralizing disquisitions that Boaistuau and Belleforest are so very fond of, are not to be found to the same extent in the Spanish romances. They confront us at every turn in the Elizabethan novels. And the Elizabethan novelists could hardly have found in the Spanish romances an example for their very frequent lyrical crystallization of the feelings, whereas this is also a feature of the English novels out of Bandello. In all respects indeed there is close agreement between the atmosphere, spirit, complexion and contexture of the novels out of Bandello and of the Elizabethan love-pamphlets and Romances. And chronology unmistakably points to them, rather than to other works with similar features, as having been most likely to influence the writers of these love-pamphlets, romances, and Euphuistic novels, towards the adoption of the particular technique so consistently followed by a large majority of them.

CONCLUSION

However deeply the technique of Pettie, Lyly and their followers may have been affected by that of the English novels out of Bandello, of course Elizabethan sentimental fiction did respond in other fields to other influences as well, which would have to be reckoned with in a full-fledged history of it. Mediaeval romance, the newly rediscovered stores of classical legend, the Greek novels, the Spanish romances, the Italian *novelle*, the Italian and Spanish pastoral romances, the Spanish and Italian Ovidian tales, the Italian courtesy-books, books of etiquette, and books of *dubbii*, all of which were constantly being put into the hands of the Elizabethan reading public in fresh editions and a host of translations, all these would have to be taken account of, while the question would also have to be considered whether the realistic and humorous novels that went on being translated and written at the same time did not on their part react upon the course pursued by the writers of sentimental fiction. But with their commonly, though not invariably, simple plots, their usual, though sometimes only relative, paucity of incidents, their unvarying concentration upon a love-intrigue the romantic or tragical consequences of which are briefly recorded after considerable space has been devoted to the analysis or rather the stereotyped expression, with the accompaniment of a running moral commentary and an occasional breaking into verse, of the feelings of the lovers, the works of fiction reviewed in the foregoing chapter are in harmony with none of these so much as with the English novels out of Bandello. Or at least none of those that might have provided the Elizabethan pamphlets with these same features were at the time available, as were the English novels out of Bandello, for the imitation of English novelists¹.

1. As regards the practice of intermingling prose and verse it would seem indeed that some influences are to be reckoned with over and above that of the Elizabethan

Apart from the work done as translators and adapters of Bandello by Painter, Fenton and their compeers, Thomas Paynell's rendering into English, about 1567, of the *Treasure of Amadis of Fraunce*,

novels out of Bandello. If there is nothing to show that the *Ameto* and the *Ninfale Fiesolano* were known to the Elizabethans, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* undoubtedly was, for the *Arcadia* of Sidney owed something to it (cf. Greg, *Pastoral poetry and pastoral drama*, and Zandvoort, *Sidney's Arcadia*, Amsterdam, 1929), and a now lost *Shadow of Sannazar* was entered in the Stationers' Registers on August 2, 1581 (Arber's *Transcript*, II, 398). Instead of being directly related to the prose narrative, however, as they commonly are with the Elizabethan novelists, the pieces of verse are in all these Italian works a sort of intermezzo that is sung while the narrative is stopped and well-nigh lost sight of, so that it can hardly be said that the Italian pastoral romances exerted an influence in this respect upon the English writers of fiction that we have been considering. But in the English novels it sometimes happens also that a piece of verse is made the occasion for the discussion of some point usually relating to love or to the female character, when the speakers recite other pieces of verse by way of illustration or summing up. Of previously written prose works, those in which verse is put to just such a use stand apart in a well defined group the most outstanding representative of which is Bembo's *Asolani*. While there is no Elizabethan translation of the *Asolani* on record, Bembo's practice in this respect is duplicated in many a book of civility and manual of polite conversation of the Italian Renaissance, and these were sufficiently well known in Elizabethan England to make it possible that the Elizabethan love-pamphlets should have been indebted to Italian influence and example for this feature of theirs (cf. Crane, *Italian social Customs of the sixteenth century*). Still, when all is said, what is most characteristic of the Elizabethan novelists we have in mind, as regards their use of verse, is that with them the verse serves to provide a lyrical crystallization of the feelings roused in the heroes by the events narrated in the prose. The characters usually break into verse when their feelings have become too highly wrought for mere prose. Now this they do also, not only in the *Histoires Tragiques*, but also in some mediaeval romances and in the *Diana* of Montemayor. We have already recorded our opinion that it is doubtful whether, as regards matters of technique, the mediaeval romances remained directly influential with the Elizabethans. The influence of the *Diana* cannot be so easily ruled out of court. Bartholomew Yong's English translation of it did not appear till 1598, but it had apparently been completed by 1583 (cf. Greg, *Op. cit.*, and T. P. Harrison, "Bartholomew Yong, Translator", *Modern Language Review*, XXI (1926), 129-139). Towards the same time Sir Philip Sidney included in his *Arcadia* translations of some of the poems in Montemayor's novel (cf. Greg and Zandvoort, *Op. cit.*, and T. P. Harrison, "A source of Sidney's *Arcadia*", *University of Texas Bulletin, Studies in English*, n° 6, 1926, pp. 53-71), and at an earlier date, that is to say about 1563, Barnaby Googe had founded upon it two of his *Eglogs*. Still, it was only after some of the *Histoires Tragiques* had been translated into English that there appeared for the first time in the literature of the English Renaissance a work in which the prose was intermingled with verse. As the verse is here put to the same dramatic uses as most commonly in the later Elizabethan love-pamphlets, and as this recourse to verse is coupled in both the Elizabethan works of fiction and the *Histoires Tragiques* with a similarly extensive use of sentimental rhetoric and moralizing digression, one may doubtless assert that the *Histoires Tragiques* exerted the most decisive influence in naturalizing upon English soil this practice as well.

and Henry Wotton's translation, as *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels*, 1578, of the facetiously entitled *Printemps d'Yver* of Jacques Yver, 1572, a collection of novels the general characteristics of which, as regards style and technique, are the same as those of the *Histoires Tragiques*¹, may indeed have operated in the same direction. But even these can at best have done little more than supplement an influence that belongs chiefly, and almost solely, to the English novels out of Bandello.

This influence has essentially to do with the adoption by the Elizabethan writers of love-pamphlets and Euphuistic novels of a particular technique in the handling of their love-stories. Elizabethan romance would still have developed the same themes even if no novels out of Bandello had been done into English. While to Elizabethan tragic fiction, though it did borrow some strains from them, these same novels lent nothing that was really material. What the novels out of Bandello did was for a time to lead the majority of Elizabethan novelists to provide side by side, in the relation of somewhat flimsy stories, ample and stereotyped rhetorical developments and long-winded moral disquisitions, and to intersperse their prose narrative with lyrical pieces.

In some respects this was a somewhat striking development. For it meant the naturalization in England, under an Italian name, of what was essentially a French literary mode. But from another point of view the vogue enjoyed for a time by the novels out of Bandello was no mere freak. That they came from Italy was a sufficient reason to ensure them an eager welcome in Elizabethan England. In the violence of those that were tragical and ghastly there was moreover, as we have remarked, something that harmonized with the temper of the Englishmen of the sixteenth century. But even so they were made more acceptable to them because in their French form they were less essentially gloomy, pessimistic and cynical than in the Italian. Our comparison of the English novels out of Bandello with their Italian originals has evinced the fact that, ever ready to lay the stress upon what was morally pleasant, comforting and elevating, and to show the triumph of virtue and the punishment or reformation of the wicked, the English translators and adapters most often turned those grim tales of the callous Italian *novelliere* into pretexts for edifying sermons,

1. Cf. H. Clouzot, *Le Printemps d'Yver*, 1572.

and occasionally interlarded them with purely gratuitous moralizing developments. So pronounced was this tendency of theirs that they made Bandello's romantic and optimistic novels still more refined and sentimental and, when they went straight to him for tales that had not been translated into French, almost invariably selected tales of this description. In all of which they reveal themselves to have been of a turn of mind not essentially different from that of the bulk of subsequent English novelists. Some of the heroines of Fenton at any rate already use the same sort of language as those of Richardson. From Defoe and Fielding to Dickens and Thackeray, moreover, Painter and Fenton's trick of button-holing their readers and pointing out to them the moral issues involved in their tales is repeated by the great majority of later English writers of fiction. And for at least two centuries and a half after they appeared, English fiction as a whole was mostly instinct with much the same idealism, optimism and sentimentality as the English novels out of Bandello. Apart from their harmonizing with the temper of the English nation in a particular century, such of these novels as were translated doubtly owed their success to the fact that, in the form in which they were naturalized, they gratified some of the most enduring and abiding strains in the English character.

Over and above this, their vogue can also be accounted for upon literary grounds. Practically all English writers were in the sixteenth century fired with a noble ambition to provide their nation with a literature that in point of artistic excellence could compare with those of Greece, of Rome, and of modern Italy. But they were somewhat mistaken as to the best way of realising this ambition. The lessons imparted to them at school, the handbooks of literary composition in greatest favour with their teachers, the English manuals of rhetoric of the time, all were instinct with the idea that ingenuity, subtlety, copiousness, and richness of ornamentation, were the qualities most to be striven for. These they found in the original novels of Bandello in only a limited degree. But they could find them in great plenty in the *Histoires Tragiques*. Painter for one distinctly states his preference for the style of the "French translatours" over the "barren soile of (Bandello's) own vain". No similar statement is made by his compeers, and it may be that some of them translated from the French because they were better acquainted with this language

than with Italian. But this cannot be true of them all¹. And the eagerness with which the rhetorical features of the English novels out of Bandello were seized upon and imitated by a host of subsequent novelists testifies to an essential agreement between the expressed taste of Painter and the unexpressed taste of his contemporaries.

And yet, however natural it may seem, and however potent it may have been while it lasted, this influence was only of short duration. In the years immediately following upon the publication of Lyly's *Euphues*, the most important production of Elizabethan romantic fiction by a long way was Sidney's *Arcadia*. Now while its lovers have a knack of pouring the outflowings of their hearts into verse, still, as regards its technique, the *Arcadia* seems to owe nothing to the English novels out of Bandello. If only its main story be taken into consideration, this was a romance of chivalry enacted in a pastoral setting. It was first published in 1590, and the change that comes upon English romantic fiction a few years after this date must no doubt be put to its account. Rich's *Adventures of Brusanus, Prince of Hungaria*, published in 1592, had been written seven years earlier². But this period saw the composition as well as publication, among others, of Henry Roberts's *A Defiance to Fortune, proclaimed by Andrugio, noble Duke of Saxony*, 1590, and *Pheander, the mayden Knight*, 1595, and of Emmanuel Forde's *Parismus*, 1597, with its sequel *Parismenos*, 1599, and *Ornatus and Artesia*, 1598. Quite in keeping with the indications supplied by their title-pages, all these novels have this in common that they are tales of multifarious adventure in many lands, in which the writer's main effort is devoted to the invention or narration, for the reader's pleasure more than for his edification, of events of a wonder-raising nature³. It is not that

1. Barnabe Rich for instance would seem to have been acquainted with Italian as well as with French.

2. As stated upon the title-page : *The Adventures of Brusanus, Prince of Hungaria... written by Barnabe Rich seaven or eight yeares sithence*.

3. Henry Roberts : *A Defiance to Fortune, proclaimed by Andrugio, noble Duke of Saxony... Whereunto is adjoynd the honorable Warres of Galastino, Duke of Millaine... Wherin is noted a myrrour of noble patience, a most rare example of modest chastity, and the perfect patterne of true friendship*. — *Pheander, the mayden Knight : describing his honourable Travailles and hautie attempts in Armes, with his sucresse in love*. — Emmanuel Forde : *Parismus, the Renowned Prince of Bohemia. His most famous, delectable and pleasant Historie. Containing his Noble Battailles*

the moral issues are completely lost sight of, and that the events are not so arranged as to bring the reward and triumph of virtue. They hardly ever fail to be so arranged in early English fiction. But at least the reader is spared the lengthy moral disquisitions of both the tales out of Bandello and the novels which their example had provided with a similar technique, and the author is concerned with relating deeds and happenings much more than with recording feelings. The proportion characteristic of the novels out of Bandello and of the works of fiction that followed in their wake is completely reversed.

About the same time another development intervened to make the English writers of fiction abandon the course which most of them had pursued ever since the publication of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. The output of realistic, humorous stories had before 1570 been at least as important as that of the romantic and tragic ones, and Painter had doubtless consulted both his own taste and that of his public when including a fair proportion of them in the *Palace of Pleasure*. But for some years after that the favour of both writers and readers seems to have gone to tales of either a grimmer or a more romantic cast. David Rowland's translation of *The pleasaunt historie of Lazarillo de Tormes* probably first appeared in 1576¹. There are also some humorous stories in H. C's *The Forrest of Fancy*, 1579, and in Barnabe Rich's *Farwell to Militarie profession*, 1581, and *Don Simonides*, 1581 and 1584. But this is about all there is to record in this respect before the reissue of Rowland's *Lazarillo* in 1586. After this date, on the contrary, the publication of works of this description becomes more frequent. *Tarlton's Jigge of a horse loade of Fooles*, 1588, is followed in 1590 by *Tarltons newes out of purgatorie* and *The cobbler of Caunterburie*. In the next year, Robert Greene enters upon the publication of his Conny-catching pamphlets. He had been in the foregoing decade the most prolific of those who had written tales built after the general pattern of the English novels out of Bandello. In

fought against the Persians. His love to Laurana, the King's Daughter of Thessaly and his strange adventures in the Desolate Island. — The most pleasant History of Ornatus and Artesia. Wherein is contayned the unjust Raigne of Thaeon King of Phrygia. Who with his Sonne Lenon intending Ornatus his Death, right Heyre to the Crowne, was afterwards slaine by his owne Servants: and Ornatus, after many extreame miseries Crowned King (title-page of the 1607 edition in the Bodleian Library).

1. Cf. the reissue edited by J. E. V. Crofts, Oxford, 1924, introd., pp. x-xi.

1591, he suddenly announces his resolve to start upon a new venture. He will no longer write of love, but will reveal the organization and depict the tricks of the sharpers, thieves, cutpurses, whoremongers and other gentry of that ilk then swarming in and about London, that he lumps together under the common appellation of Conny-catchers. His professed aim is to warn their possible victims against their wiles and make the exercise of their guilty and noxious trades more difficult for them. And of course he holds them up to detestation and expresses his abhorrence of them in many a page of moralizing comment. But for all this, and especially because he will not, so he says, "applie a high stile in a base subject"¹, he renounces the pomp of his former rhetoric. The larger portion of the Conny-catching pamphlets is indeed taken up with the relation, racy and unadorned, of fine tricks neatly carried off. Instead of long-drawn highly rhetorical sentimental novels, Greene now writes short realistic tales in which he is mostly content with a bare statement of facts.

Now the same features are also characteristic of various writers after him. Realism enters very largely into works, such as Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* and Henry Chettle's *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, in which many of the abuses of the time are humorously denounced. More important still, Greene's Conny-catching pamphlets were imitated in many a tract, when not actually pilfered from, by such writers as Thomas Dekker and Samuel Rowlands. But from the work of these writers the moral claims that Greene had put forward are almost totally absent.

All this means that after 1590 English fiction decidedly embarks upon roads branching away from that which it had followed in the main while its writers busied themselves with reproducing the admixture of ample sentimental rhetoric, lyrical crystallization of the feelings, and long-winded moralization, characteristic of the English novels out of Bandello. The imitation of the technique of these novels by Elizabethan writers was little more than a passing vogue.

It could not perhaps be more because it was far from being all to the good. If the story of the Lady of Chabrye is from an artistic and psychological point of view more satisfactory in the version of Barnabe Rich than in those of Belleforest and of Fenton, this

1. *The Second Part of Conny-catching*, ed. G. B. Harrison, p. 7.

is due essentially to the omission of all mention of the final remorse and reformation of its heavily sinning hero and heroine. But as a general rule their eagerness to show vice punished and virtue triumphant drove the English translators and adapters of Bandello and their followers to portray characters so exceptional, relate events of such a wonder-raising nature, and fit their stories with such marvellous endings, that their novels no longer have much in common with the realities of life.

Their devotion to sentimental rhetoric not unfrequently wrought similar effects. Mr. Canby sees in Fenton a forerunner, as regards psychology, probing of motives and analysis of character, of the great novelists of the eighteenth century. "Here for the first time in English prose", he writes, "the actors say all they choose among themselves, the author all he cares of them, a privilege which is perhaps the *sine qua non* of the later English novel. There is little more analysis of character in Fenton than in Bandello, yet the fashion of calling attention to what lies behind the plot was first continued, after Chaucer, by these writers of the Renaissance, and first given suitable form in English prose by him. It was a step towards *Tom Jones* and *Clarissa Harlowe*"¹. And this praise might be extended to the other translators and adapters of Bandello and to the writers, whose work we have been considering, who followed in their footsteps. But for our part we feel more inclined to reproach them with having hardly gone beyond the spirit of the schools of declamation, in which the pupils were taught, not to show character in action, but rather to declaim upon a given situation, with the result that the same piece of oratory, or nearly the same, was made to do duty for a given type of situation, and that what was produced were factitious rhetorical exercises with little real bearing upon the actualities of the particular cases to which they were supposed to refer. The fondness for sentimental rhetoric displayed by the authors of Euphuistic novels and of love-pamphlets does not often result in such marked incongruities as have been noticed in Painter's "Countess of Celant" and in Fenton's tales of Parolyna and of Julya of Gazuolo. But it accounts for their having made their characters utter so many speeches and pen so many letters so formal and stereotyped that they are interchangeable and could with little damage be lifted from the tale

1. *The short story in English*, 125.

in which they occur and inserted into some other. It nearly always takes them away from a life-like delineation of character. Together with the wish to provide a happy and edifying ending at any cost, it interposes a sort of screen between their stories and the actualities of life.

Through their relish for moralizing comment and digression, moreover, these novelists too often unduly retarded the progress of their stories and made them not only less racy in the telling, but also loose and ramshackle in texture. And with them moralization and sentimental rhetoric so considerably outweigh actual tale-telling that their stories are mostly lop-sided and top-heavy. This is true of the English novels out of Bandello no less than of the more or less original tales that followed in their wake. When done into English, to borrow a phrase from the fellows of Bottom the weaver, Bandello had indeed been so "translated" as to lose not only many of his moral characteristics, but also most of his literary merits. The raciness, equilibrium of parts, life-like character-drawing and picture of social life that enter so largely in the enjoyment to be derived from a perusal of his novels, all, or almost all, have evaporated in the process.

It were vain to enter into a discussion of what might have been. When reading such a novel as *The Adventures passed by Master F. J.*, so remarkably steeped in the atmosphere of real life, one might well wonder whether the English novel could not have assumed at that early date some of the literary and artistic qualities that distinguish the work of the Italian *novellieri*. But the fact is that it did not, neither then nor even later, when the influence of the English novels out of Bandello ceased to be a disturbing factor. It would seem that the time was not yet ripe. And so doubtless all that need be said by way of conclusion is that, while it makes it possible for us to see some of the enduring traits of the English character already at work at that early date in the literary field, a consideration of the English novels out of Bandello and of their influence upon subsequent fiction brings one to a fresh realization of the fact that England was not yet, in the sixteenth century, ready to take to heart the lesson in the "classical qualities" of literary simplicity, harmony, and faithfulness to life, exemplified in the literatures of antiquity and in that of the Italian Renaissance.

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I. — EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS, ADAPTATIONS OR MENTIONS OF BANDELLO'S NOVELS

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Reptd, together with the fourth volume (cf. n° 13), by G. Brognoligo, Bari (Scrittori d'Italia), 1910-12, 5 vols.
- 2) BOAISTUAU, Pierre : *Histoires tragiques extraictes des œuvres Italiennes de Bandel, & mises en nostre langue François, par Pierre Boaistuau surnommé Launay...*, Paris, Vincent Sertenas, 1559.
- 3) BELLEFOREST, François de : *Continuation des Histoires Tragiques, extraites de l'Italien de Bandel, mises en langue François, par François de Belle-Forest Commingeois...*, Paris, Vincent Sertenas, 1559.
- 4) BROOKE, Arthur : a) *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet...*, London, Richard Tottell, 1562.
b) *Romeus and Juliet*, Arthur Brooke — *Rhomeo and Julietta*, William Painter, ed. by P. A. Daniel, New Shakespeare Society, Series III, n° 1, 1875.
c) Brooke's "*Romeus and Juliet*"..., newly ed. by J. J. Munro, 1908.
- 5) BELLEFOREST, François de : *Le Second Tome des Histoires Tragiques, extraites de l'Italien de Bandel, contenant encore dixhuit Histoires, traduites & enrichies outre l'invention de l'Authheur. Par François de Belleforest Comingeois*, Paris, Vincent Norment & Jeanne Bruneau, 1556.

1. When no place of publication is given, the book should be understood to have been issued in Paris if it is a French one, and in London if it is an English one. — In the case of sixteenth century works of which there are several reprints, only the most important or the most easily obtainable of such reprints have been mentioned. — The following abbreviations have been used :

- Col. U. P. : Columbia University Press
- H. U. P. : Harvard University Press
- J. E. G. P. : Journal of English and Germanic Philology
- M. L. R. : Modern Language Review
- M. P. : Modern Philology
- P. M. L. A. : Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
- R. A. Am. : Revue Anglo-Américaine
- R. L. C. : Revue de Littérature Comparée
- S. P. : Studies in Philology
- U. C. P. : University of California Press
- Y. U. P. : Yale University Press

- 6) PEEND (or DELAPEEND), Thomas : *The pleasant fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis*, London, Colwell, 1565.
- 7) PEEND (or DELAPEEND), Thomas : *The most notable history of y^e lorde Mandozze*, London, Colwell, 1565.
- 8) PAINTER, William : a) *The Palace of Pleasure*, vol. I, London, R. Tottell and W. Jones, 1566 ; vol. II, London, H. Bynneman for N. England, 1567.
 b) Ed. by J. Haslewood, 1813.
 c) Ed. by J. Jacobs, 1890.
 d) Ed. by Hamish Miles, 1929.
 e) Cf. n^o 4 b.
- 9) FENTON, Geoffrey : *Certaine Tragical Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin...*, London, T. Marsh, 1567.
 Ed. by R. L. Douglas (Tudor Translations, XIX—XX), 1898.
- 10) ANONYMOUS : *A strange petyfull novell Dyscoursynge of a noble Lorde and his lady with thayre tregicall ende of them and thayre ij. cheldren executed by a blacke morryon*. (Stationers' Registers, 1569-70 (Arber, I, 406) ; Not extant).
- 11) GO(UBOURNE), Jo(hn) : *A Discourse of the great crueltie of a widow towards a young gentleman, and by what means he requited the same*. (Stationers' Registers, 1569-70 (Arber, I, 414) ; Not extant).
- 12) GASCOIGNE, George : a) *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small Poesie...*, London, R. Smith, 1572.
 Partial reprint by B. M. Ward, 1926.
 b) *The Posies of George Gascoigne, Esquire...* London, R. Smith, 1575.
 Reptd in : *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. by J. W. Cunliffe, Cambridge, 1907.
- 13) BANDELLO, Matteo : a) *La quarta Parte de le Novelle del Bandello nuovamente composte...*, Lione, Marsilii, 1573.
 b) *Le sixième et dernier tome des histoires tragiques et nouvelles de Bandel*, Lyon, Marsilii, 1573. (An anonymous translation of the above).
- 14) RICH, Barnabe : *A right exelent and pleasaunt Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier...* London, 1574 (No publisher's name but only the mention : " These Bookes are to be sold at the corner Shop, at the South west doore of Paules Church ").
- 15) ACHELLEY, Thomas : *A most lamentable and Tragical historie, conteynning the outrageous and horrible tyrannie which a Spanishe gentlewoman named Violenta executed upon her lover Didaco...*, London, J. Charlwood, 1576.
- 16) PETTIE, George : *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his pleasure...*, London, R. Watkins, 1576.
 Reptd by I. Gollancz, 1908.

- 17) WHETSTONE, George : *The Rocke of Regard...*, London, R. Waley, 1576.
Reptd by J. P. Collier, 1870.
- 18) GRANGE, John : *The Golden Aphroditis...*, London, H Bynneman, 1577
- 19) SMYTHE, R. : *Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragical Hystories...*, London, H. Jackson, 1577.
- 20) PROCTER, Thomas : *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, London, R. Jones, 1578.
Reptd by Hyder E. Rollins, 1926.
- 21) C. H. : *The Forrest of Fancy*, London, T. Purfoote, 1579.
- 22) SAKER, Austen : *Narbonus. The Laberynth of Libertie...*, London, R. Jhones, 1580 — *Narbonus. The seconde parte, of the Lust of Libertie...*, London, R. Johnes, 1580.
- 23) MUNDAY, Anthony : *Zelauto. The Fountaine of Fame...*, London, J. Charlewood, 1580.
- 24) BELLEFOREST, François de : *Le Thresor des Histoires tragiques de François de Belle-forest...*, Paris, Gervais Mallot, 1581.
- 25) RICH, Barnabe : a) *Riche his Farewell to Militarie profession...*, London, R. Walley, 1581.
b) Reptd by J. P. Collier, Shakespeare Society, 1846.
c) Rich's "Apolonius & Silla", an original of Shakespeare's "Twelfth Night", ed. by Morton Luce, 1912.
- 26) RICH, Barnabe : *The straunge and wonderfull adventures of Do(n) Simonides...*, London, R. Walley, 1581 — *The Second Tome of the Travailes and adventures of Don Simonides...*, London, R. Walley, 1584.
- 27) STANYHURST, Richard : *The first foure Bookes of Virgil his Aeneis,, wyth oother Poëtical divises theretoo annexed.* Leiden, I. Pates, 1582.
Reptd by Arber : The English Scholar's Library, Old Series, n° 10, 1880.
- 28) WHETSTONE, George : *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses...*, London, R. Jones, 1582.
- 29) GREENE, Robert : *Mamillia. A Mirrour or looking-glasse for the Ladies of Englande...*, London, T. Woodcocke, 1583 — *Mamillia : The second part of the triumph of Pallas...*, London, W. Ponsonbie, 1593 (Stationers' Registers, sept. 6, 1583).
Reptd in The Works of Robert Greene, ed. by A. B. Grosart, 1881-83, vol. 2.
- 30) MELBANCKE, Brian : *Philotimus. The Warre betwixt Nature and Fortune...*, London, R. Warde, 1583.
- 31) GREENE, Robert : *Gwydonius, The Carde of Fancie...*, London, W. Ponsonby, 1584.

- Reptd, from the edition of 1587, in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 4, and in : "Shorter Novels, Vol. I, Elizabethan and Jacobean", Everyman's Library, 1929.
- 32) ROBINSON, Clement : *A Handefull of pleasant delites*. London, R. Jhones, 1584.
Reptd by Hyder E. Rollins, 1924.
- 33) GIOVIO, Paolo : *The Worthy tract of Paulus Jovius, contayning a Discourse of... Imprese...* By Samuell Daniell..., London, S. Waterson, 1585.
- 34) WHETSTONE, George : *The English Myrror...*, London, G. Seton, 1586.
- 35) LODGE, Thomas : *The Life and Death of William Long beard...*, London, R. Yardley and P. Short, 1593.
Reptd in : The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge, ed. by Edmond Gosse, 1883, vol. 2.
- 36) LODGE, Thomas : *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse : Discovering the Devils Incarnat of this Age*. London, A. Islip, 1596.
Reptd in Edmund Gosse's Works of Lodge, vol. 4.
- 37) LYNCH, Richard : *Diella, Certaine Sonnets, adjoynd to the amorous Poeme of Dom Diego and Ginevra*. London, H. Olney, 1596.
Reptd by A. B. Grosart : Occasional Issues of Unique or very rare Books, vol. 4, 1877 ; and by E. Arber, An English Garner, vol. 7, 1883.
- 38) BEARD, Thomas : *The Theatre of Gods Judgements....* London, A. Islip, 1597.
- 39) MARGUERITE D'ANGOULEME : *The Queene of Navarres Tales..... Now newly translated out of French into English*. London, John Oxenbridge, 1597.
- 40) KINDE KIT OF KINGSTONE : *Westward for Smelts...*, London, J. Trundle, 1620.
Reptd by J. O. Halliwell, Percy Society, 1848.

II. — OTHER SIXTEENTH CENTURY WORKS

- 41) ERASMUS, Desiderius : *Libellus de conscribendis epistolis*, Cambridge, J. Siberch, 1521.
- 42) WALTER, William : *Guystarde and Sygysmonde, Here foloweth the amerous hystory of Guystarde and Sygysmonde, and of theyr dolorous Deth by her father...*, London, Wynkyn de Worde, 1532.
Reptd for the Roxburghe Club, 1818.
- 43) SAN PEDRO, Diego de : *The castell of love. Translated by John Bourchier, lord Berners*. London, R. Kele, 1540 (?).
- 44) SAN PEDRO, Diego de : *A certayn treatye moste wyttely devysed orygynally wrytten in the spanyshe, lately Traducted in to Frenche*

- entitled, *Lamant mal traicte de sa mye, And nowe out of Frenche in to Englysshe...*, London, Robert Wyer. (Epistle dedicatory signed John Clerk and dated March 17, 1543).
- 45) SYLVIVS, Aeneas : *The goodli history of the moste noble and beautifull Ladye Lucrece of Scene in Tuskane, and of her lover Euryalus...*, London, W. Copland (?), 1550 (?).
- Reptd by Henry H. Gibbs : *The Hystorie of the moste noble knight Plasidas, and other rare pieces*, Roxburghe Club, 1873.
- 46) MARGUERITE D'ANGOULEME : *L'Heptameron des Nouvelles de tresillustre et tresexcellente Princesse Marguerite de Valoys, Royne de Navarre, Remis en son vray ordre...* par Claude Gruget Parisien. Paris, Benoist Prévost, 1559.
- 47) ANONYMOUS : *Le thresor des douze Livres D'amadis de Gaule...*, Paris, Vincent Sertenas, 1559.
- 48) BOCCACCIO, Giovanni : *A pleasaunt disport of divers noble personages : written in Italian by M. J. Bocace... in his boke which is entituled Philocopo*. London, Henry Bynneman, (Stationers' Registers, 1566-67 : Arber's Transcript, I, 337).
- Reptd by Edward Hutton, 1927.
- 49) OVID : *The Heroycall Epistles of... Publius Ovidius Naso, in English Verse : set out and translated by G. Turberville...*, with Aulus Sabinus answers to certaine of the same. London, H. Denham, 1567.
- Reptd by F. Boas, 1928.
- 50) OVID : *The XV. bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis. Translated ... into English meeter by A. Golding*. London, W. Seres, 1567. — (The first four books had appeared in 1565).
- Reptd by W. H. D. Rouse, 1904.
- 51) PAYNELL, Thomas (translator) : *The moste excellent and pleasaunt Booke, entituled : The Tresurie of Amadis of Fraunce.....*, London, T. Hacket, 1567 (?).
- 52) FULWOOD, William : *The Enemie of Idlenesse...*, London, L. Maylard, 1568.
- 53) HELIODORUS : *An Aethiopian Historie, written in Greeke by Heliodorus..... Englished by Thomas Underdowne*, London, F. Coldocke, 1569 (?) (Stationers' Registers, 1568-69 : Arber's Transcript, I, 388).
- Reptd by Ch. Whibley (Tudor Translations, vol. 5), 1895 — by George Saintsbury (The Abbey Classics, vol. 23), 1924.
- 54) TURBERVILLE, George : *Tragical Tales, translated by Turberville. In time of his troubles, out of sundrie Italians*. London, A. Jeffs, 1587 (first edition, 1577 ?).
- Privately printed, Edinburgh, 1837.
- 55) LYLY, John : *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wyt*, London, G. Cawood, 1578 — *Euphues and his England*, London, G. Cawood, 1580.

Reptd in : The Complete Works of John Lyly, ed. by R. W. Bond, Oxford, 1902 — by M. W. Croll and H. Clemons, 1916.

- 56) WOTTON, Henry : *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels.....*
Translated out of French ... by H(enrie) W(otton) Gentleman,
London, F. Coldocke and H. Bynneman, 1578. (A translation of :
Le Printemps d'Yver, by Jacques Yver, Paris, 1572).
- 57) SENECA : *Seneca his tenne Tragedies, translated into Englysh*,
London, T. Marsh, 1581.
Reptd by Thomas Newton, 1927.
- 58) GREENE, Robert : *Arbasto, The Anatomie of Fortune...*, London,
H. Jackson, 1584.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 3.
- 59) GREENE, Robert : *Morando The Tritameron of Love...*, London,
Edward White, 1584 — *The Second part of the Tritameron of
Love...*, London, Edward White, 1587.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 3.
- 60) GREENE, Robert : *The Myrrour of Modestie...*, London, R. Warde,
1584.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 3.
- 61) LODGE, Thomas : *An Alarum against Usurers... Heereunto are
annexed the delectable historie of Forbonius and Prisceria...*, London,
S. Clarke, 1584.
Reptd in : A Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage plays, by
Thomas Lodge, Shakespeare Society, 1853 — in Edmund Gosse's
Works of Lodge, vol. 1.
- 62) WARNER, William : *Pan his Syrinx, or Pipe, compact of seven
Reedes...*, London, T. Purfoote, 1584.
- 63) GREENE, Robert : *Planetomachia : or the first parte of the generall
opposition of the seven Planets...*, London, T. Cadman, 1585.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 5.
- 64) DAY, Angel (translator) : *Daphnis and Chloe... finished in a
Pastorall, and interlaced with the praises of a most peerlesse Princesse
... termed by the name of The Shepheards Holidaiie*, London, R.
Waldegrave, 1587.
Reptd by J. J. Jacobs, 1890.
- 65) GREENE, Robert : *Euphues his Censure to Philautus...*, London,
E. White, 1587.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 6.
- 66) GREENE, Robert : *Penelopes Web...*, London, E. Aggas, 1587.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 5.
- 67) GREENE, Robert : *Alcida, Greenes Metamorphosis...*, London,
G. Purslowe, 1617 (entered to J. Wolfe 9 december, 1588).
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 9.

- 68) GREENE, Robert : *Pandosto, The Triumph of Time...*, London, T. Cadman, 1588.
Reptd by J. P. Collier : Shakespeare's Library, 1843, vol. 1 — in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 4 — by P. G. Thomas, 1907.
- 69) GREENE, Robert : : *Perimedes the Blacke-Smith...*, London, E. White, 1588.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 7.
- 70) GREENE, Robert : *Ciceronis Amor. Tullies Love...*, London, T. Newman and J. Winington, 1589.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 7.
- 71) GREENE, Robert : *Menaphon. Camillas Alarum to slumbering Euphues, in his melancholic Cell, at Silexedra...*, London, S. Clarke, 1589.
Reptd by E. Arber : The English Scholar's Library, n^o 12, 1880 — in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 6 — by G. B. Harrison, Oxford, 1927.
- 72) GREENE, Robert : *Greenes Mourning Garment : Given him by Repentance at the Funerals of Love...*, London, T. Newnan, 1590.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 9.
- 73) GREENE, Robert : *Greenes Never too Late : Or, a Powder of Experience : sent to all youthfull Gentlemen...*, London, N. Lyng and J. Busbie, 1590 — *Francescos Fortunes : or, The second part of Greenes Never too Late...*, London, N. Lyng and J. Busbie, 1590.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 8.
- 74) GREENE, Robert : *Greenes Orpharion. Wherin is discovered a musicall concorde of pleasaunt Histories...*, London, E. White, 1590.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 12.
- 75) LODGE, Thomas : *Rosalynde. Euphues golden legacie...*, London, T. Gubbin and J. Busbie, 1590.
Reptd by J. P. Collier : Shakespeare's Library, vol. 1, 1843 — in Edmund Gosse's Works of Lodge, vol. 1 — by W. W. Greg, 1907.
- 76) GREENE, Robert : *Greenes Farewell to Folly...*, London, T. Gubbin and T. Newman, 1591.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 9.
- 77) LODGE, Thomas : *The Famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed for his monstrous birth and behaviour, Robin the Divell*, London, N. Ling and J. Busbie, 1591.
Reptd in Edmund Gosse's Works of Lodge, vol. 2.
- 78) GREENE, Robert : *Philomela. The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale...* London, E. White, 1592.
Reptd in Grosart's Works of Greene, vol. 11.
- 79) LODGE, Thomas : *Euphues Shadow, the battaile of the sences...*, London, J. Busbie, 1592.
Reptd in Edmund Gosse's Works of Lodge, vol. 2.

- 80) DICKENSON, John : *Arisbas, Euphues amidst his slumbers ; or Cupids journey to Hell*, London, T. Woodcocke, 1594.
Reptd in : Prose and verse by John Dickenson, ed. by A. B. Grosart, 1878.
- 81) NASHE, Thomas : *The Unfortunate Traveller, or, The Life of Jacke Wilton*, London, C. Burby, 1594.
Reptd in The Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. by R. B. Mc Kerrow, 1904-10, vol. 2 — in Shorter Novels, Vol. I, Elizabethan and Jacobean, Everyman's Library, 1929.
- 82) BRETON, Nicholas : *The Miseries of Mavillia. The most unfortunate Ladie, that ever lived.* (The 4th "discourse" in : The Wil of Wit, Wits Will, or Wils Wit, chuse you whether..... London, T. Creed, 1596, the earliest known but probably not the first edition).
Reptd by J. O. Halliwell, 1860 — by U. K. Wright, 1929.
- 83) LODGE, Thomas : *A Margarite of America...*, London, J. Busbie, 1596.
Reptd in Edmund Gosse's Works of Lodge, vol. 3 — by G. B. Harrison, Oxford, 1927.
- 84) DICKENSON, John : *Greene in conceipt : new raised from his grave to write the tragique historie of faire Valeria of London*, London, W. Jones, 1598.
Reptd in Grosart's Prose and verse by John Dickenson.

III. — CRITICAL MATERIAL ¹

- 85) AMOS, Flora Ross : *Early theories of translation*, New York, Col. U. P., 1920.
- 86) ARBER, E. : *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 ; 1875-1894*, 5 vols.
- 87) ASCHAM, Roger : *The Scholemaster.....*, London, John Day, 1570.
Reptd by John E. B. Mayor, 1884 — by W. Aldis Wright : Roger Ascham, English Works, Cambridge, 1904.
- 88) AXON, W. E. A. : *Romeus and Juliet before and in Shakespeare's time* : Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, 2nd Series, XXVI (1905), 101-144.
- 89) BAKER, E. A. : *The History of the English Novel* : Vol. I, From the beginnings to the Renaissance, 1924 ; Vol. II, The Elizabethan Age and after, 1929.
- 90) BALDWIN, C. S. : *Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic*, New York, 1924.

1. Not all the works mentioned in the notes are to be found in this list, but only those that have supplied us with more than a passing indication on some matter of detail.

- 91) BALDWIN, C. S. : *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400)*, New York, 1928.
- 92) BECKER, G. : "*The adventures of Don Simonides*", ein Roman von Barnabe Rich und seine Quelle : Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CXXXI (1913), 64-80.
- 92) BÖDTKER, A. Trampe ; *Arthur Brooke and his Poem*: Englische Studien, LXX (1935-36), 167-68.
- 93) BORNECQUE, H. : *Les déclamations et les déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père*, Lille (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille), 1902.
- 94) BOURCIEZ, E. : *Les mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II*, 1886.
- 95) BOWERS, F. Thayer : *Notes on Gascoigne's A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres and The Posies* : Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, XVI (1934), 13-36.
- 96) BRADNER, Leicester : *The first English Novel. A study of George Gascoigne's "Adventures of Master F. J."* : P. M. L. A., XLV (1930), 543-552.
- 97) BRIE, Friedrich : *Zur Entstehung des "Kaufmann von Venedig"* : Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft, XLIX (1913), 97-122.
- 98) BROGNOLIGO, G. : *Matteo Bandello (1485-1561)*, Torino, Paravia (Scrittori italiani con notizie storiche e analisi estetiche) 1932.
- 99) BRYDGES, Sir Samuel Egerton, and HASLEWOOD, J. : *The British Bibliographer*, 1810-14, 4 vols.
- 100) BUSH, Douglas : *The classical tales in Painter's Palace of Pleasure* : J. E. G. P., XXIII (1924), 331-341.
- 101) BUSH, Douglas : *Classic Myths in English verse, 1557-89* : M. P., XXV (1926-27), 37-47.
- 102) BUSH, Douglas : *The Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* : J. E. G. P., XXVII (1928), 162-69.
- 103) BUSH, Douglas : *Mythology and the Renaissance tradition in English poetry*, University of Minnesota Press, 1932.
- 104) BYRNE, M. Saint Clare : *Anthony Munday and his books* : The Library, IVth Series, I (1921), 225-256.
- 105) CANBY, H. S. : *The Short Story in English*, New York, 1909.
- 106) CANBY, H. S. : *A Study of the Short Story*, New York, 1913.
- 107) CHIARINI, Cino : *Romeo e Giulietta. La storia degli amanti veronesi nelle novelle italiane e nella tragedia di Shakespeare, novamente tradotta da Cino Chiarini*, Firenze, 1906.
- 108) CLOUZOT, Henri : *Le « Printemps d'Yver »*, 1572 : Revue du Seizième Siècle, XVIII (1931), 104-129.

- 109) COLLIER, J. P. : *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, vol. I, 1557-1570, vol. II, 1570-1587, Shakespeare Society, 1848-49.
- 110) CRANE, T. F. : *Italian social Customs of the sixteenth Century and their influence on the literatures of Europe*, Y. U. P., 1920.
- 111) CRANE, W. G. : *Lord Berners' Translation of Diego de San Pedro's Carcel de Amor* : P. M. L. A., XLIX (1934), 1032-35.
- 112) CUNLIFFE, J. W. : *The original "Romeo and Juliet"* : M. L. R., VII (1912), 517-18.
- 113) DRANT, Thomas : *Horace his arte of Poetrie, pistles, and Satyrs Englished.....* by Tho. Drant, London, T. Marshe, 1567.
- 114) DOUGLAS, R. L. : Cf. n° 9.
- 115) DUNLOP, J. C. : *History of Prose Fiction*, 1814, 2 vols. (3rd ed. 1845 ; new ed., revised by Henry Wilson, 1888).
- 116) ERNLE, Lord : *Tudor Novels and Romances* : The Nineteenth Century and After, XCII (1922), 566-75 and 748-59.
- 117) ERNLE Lord : *The light reading of our ancestors, Chapters in the growth of the English Novel*, 1927.
- 118) ESDAILE, Arundell J. K. : *A list of English tales and prose romances printed before 1740*, 1912.
- 119) FLORA, Francesco : *Matteo Bandello* : Introduction to vol. I of : *Tutte le Opere di Matteo Bandello*, A cura di Francesco Flora, Milano, Mondadori, 1935.
- 120) FRAENKEL, L. : *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Stoffes von Romeo und Julia* : Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte und Renaissance-Litteratur, N. F., III (1890), 171-210, IV (1891), 48-91.
- 121) FRANCIA, Letterio di : *Alla scoperta del vero Bandello* : Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana, LXXVIII (1921), 290-324, LXXX (1922), 1-94, LXXXI (1923), 1-75.
- 122) FRANCIA, Letterio di : *Storia dei Generi letterari italiani. Novellistica. Vol. I, Dalle origini al Bandello*, Milano, 1924.
- 123) FRESCO, U. : *M. Bandello e le sue Novelle (Note ed Appunti)*, Camerino, 1903.
- 124) FULLER, H. de W. : *Romeo and Julietta* : M. P., IV (1906-07), 75-120.
- 125) FURNESS, H. H. (editor) : *A New Variorum edition of Shakespeare. Twelfth Night, or, What you will*, Philadelphia, 1901.
- 126) GREG, W. W. : *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama. A literary inquiry with special reference to the Pre-Restoration stage in England*, 1906.
- 127) HANSCHKE, M. Bingham : *The formative period of English Familiar-Letter-Writers and their contribution to the English Essay*, Philadelphia, 1902.

- 128) HATCHER, O. L. : *Aims and Methods of Elizabethan Translators* : *Englische Studien*, XLIV (1912), 174-192.
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Vu et permis d'imprimer,

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